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18 February 1986

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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18 February 1986

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CHAD

MINISTER ON COUNTRY'S STAND AT ICO CONFERENCE

AB142144 Ndjamea Domestic Service in French 1845 GMT 14 Jan 86

[Summary from poor reception] "The Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] has just held its 16th conference in Fes, Morocco. As an ICO-member state, Chad was represented at the conference by Korom Hamed, secretary of state for foreign affairs and cooperation. Mr Korom has returned to Ndjamea this morning where he received members of the national press" "I know that the various media reported in a very sensational manner the stand of the conference concerning the American decision to punish Libya for its assistance to international terrorism which manifested itself very recently in the two bloody attempts at the Rome airport in Italy and Vienna airport in Austria." "Chad, through the confirmation given by the secretary of state for foreign affairs and cooperation, cannot associate itself with the condemnation of the U.S. decision against international terrorism sponsored by al-Qadhdhafi, the butcher of our compatriots in the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti region."

"Chad's stand in Fes was very clear. Libya is Chad's enemy, at least for the time being. It is a country that is fighting against us politically and diplomatically and its annexation troops are occupying a large portion of Chadian territory."

[Begin Korom recording] "If the conference is to take a stand vis-a-vis the U.S. threats, it is also our wish that the same conference take a precise stand in the face of the real Libyan threats against our country. Of course, the conference did not consider our point of view during the meeting of experts or during the plenary session. But unfortunately, participating countries did not support our proposal. So, the conference by a consensus, decided to issue a statement supporting Libya in its show of strength with the United States. We pointed out that we will abstain from voting for any such communique that would be issued to support Libya." [end recording]

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CSO: 3400/946

KENYA

## USE OF BIOGAS TECHNOLOGY ON INCREASE AMONG FARMERS

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE (Farming) in English 20 Dec 85 p 29

[Text]

**AFRICA may have something to learn from Kenya where biogas technology is increasingly taking root among Kenyan small scale farmers. Benefits of the technology include improved hygiene, pollution control and a higher agricultural output.**

Biogas technology was introduced to Kenya in the 1950s after some farmers in the Rift Valley used anaerobic fermentation to improve the quality of cowdung as an organic fertiliser. Today, the rural woman is the immediate beneficiary of biogas as her workload is reduced and cooking conditions are made more pleasant.

However, the entire family and community at large reap the benefits of improved hygiene, pollution control and higher agricultural output.

A typical biogas user is a builder-cum-farmer, Mr Ali Salim Baya who is the only man on the Kenyan north coast with a successful biogas project on his Boyani farm.

Fifty kilometres southwest of Kilifi township you will find this successful builder, who boasts of saving over 4 000 Kenyan shillings (US\$250) by virtue of his continued efforts to maintain the biogas project he started in 1983.

Mr Baya no longer buys fuelwood, charcoal, kerosene and fertiliser. Thus, apart from the gas benefits, the fermented slurry is a valuable organic fertiliser because it reduces environmental pollution by sewage treatment. Earlier he used to spend US\$500 on fertilisers.

He uses the Indian design of digester but with various modifications. This digester is constructed in a pit and insulation is provided by the earth. With masonry construction the walls are reinforced with metal, to avoid cracks.

And it is approximated that it would cost between US\$625 and US\$1 000 for a biogas project for a family of ten but the benefits are worth it.

— Ziana-IPS

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CSO: 3400/911



MALAWI

**BANDA ADDRESSES NATION, NOTES NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC DISPARITIES**

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 27 Dec 85 p 11

[Text of message delivered by His Excellency the Life President Ngwazi Dr H. Kamuzu Banda on 24 Dec 85 on the occasion of Christmas]

[Text]

**BWANAS and Donas, ladies and gentlemen.**

From midnight tonight, throughout the whole day tomorrow, it will be the 25th of December. The 25th of December is associated, throughout the Christian world, with the birth of our Lord, Jesus Christ. Christians all over the world believe that Jesus Christ was born on the 25th of December. This being the case, the 25th of December is considered as a day of joy or rejoicing.

As everyone knows, Malawi is, today, a Christian country as well as Moslem. Probably Christians have an edge on Moslems. This being the case, Christmas day is always celebrated in this country as a day of joy or rejoicing.

**PROSPERITY**

This year, as it has been in the past few years, we, the people of this country, have every reason to be joyful or rejoicing. To begin with, there is unity in the country. Because of unity, there is peace and calm, law and order. And the whole country enjoys a measure of prosperity.

As everyone knows, I took a tour of the Northern Region in September. I toured every district in the North, starting with Chitipa, Karonga, then Rumphi, Nkhata Bay. Mzimba, of course, was the port of entry, in and out, because Mzuzu, where I stayed, is in Mzimba. Throughout my tour of the Northern Region, I was pleased, indeed, heartened to find what I found and to see what I saw there.

As everyone knows, I first went to the Northern Region in 1958. The annual conference of the then Nyasaland African Congress was held at Nkhata Bay. It was at that conference at Nkhata Bay, that I was elected President of the then Nyasaland Afri-

can Congress. From the day of my election at Nkhata Bay, I began a tour of the whole Northern Region. I toured the whole Region, Rumphi, Karonga, Mzimba, itself. At that time, Chitipa was part of Karonga; it was not a district on its own. I spent almost a full month. Because it was not just at the headquarters of the district that I spoke, but it was at areas, away from the headquarters of the district, as well.

Everywhere in the North, the people in the areas wanted me to go there to visit them and speak to them. And wherever possible, I went to as many places as I could, where I was asked to go. For example, Misuku Hills. The people in Misuku Hills had never seen a car there before I went there. Higher up the top of the hill, on its fontanelle or liwombo, it is flat and the soil is fertile. But going up is craggy and rugged. And the time I went there in 1958, there was a winding footpath, hardly fit for any wheeled vehicle. But, thank goodness, at that time, I had a very strong Landrover which I had deliberately bought for hard and dusty roads. Some of you know the number of the Landrover. It is BA 816. It crawled there. And, naturally, as you can expect, the people were very happy to see me and the Landrover there. I addressed a number of meetings there. The first meeting was at the headquarters of the chief there, Chief or Themba Mwenimisuku, and then at other villages and their chiefs.

**HEART-BREAKING POVERTY**

Everywhere I went in the North, I was shocked, heartbroken almost, to see the poverty of the people. Most of them were literally naked. And you have heard some of them saying that they were wearing banana leaves in Karonga and Chitipa.

Karonga and Chitipa were, of course, worse than other districts in the North, but the whole region was poor, Mzimba, Nkhata Bay, Rumphu. Some of you remember how the people of Mzimba used to dress. What you see now worn by the Ngoni on the 6th of July, during the Independence Celebrations, was not just the dress for dancing in those days, but also the usual dress. And to the majority of them, a bath or bathing was unusual, only washing, of course, when eating, and many times, not even then.

I repeat, the country as a whole was poverty-stricken. But there were regions, districts and areas where poverty was dire than in others. And up North, it was Karonga and Chitipa, then one district; in the South, Nsanje and Chikwawa, Mwanza-Neno. What was even worse was that it was not just poverty in clothing, but also in food. There was, literally, starvation in most parts of the year. The people of Karonga and Chitipa knew nothing about agriculture, particularly, as regards maize. So, too, those of Nkhata Bay. They knew nothing about agriculture, except growing a little bit of rice and cassava. Those in Mzimba and Rumphu knew something about maize. But they did not grow enough of it. The result was that the greatest part of the year, the people were starving in the Northern Region.

Imagine, therefore, my joy when I saw what I saw in both Karonga and Chitipa, as well as Nkhata Bay, Rumphu and Mzimba, last summer. In Chitipa and Karonga, I found mountains and mountains of maize. You have heard me mention a place called Lupembe in Karonga. But it was not just Lupembe where I found people growing maize, but also other parts of Karonga, as well. Then, in Nkhata Bay, I saw mountains and mountains of maize.

### ASTOUNDING CHANGE

In Nkhata Bay, it was, literally, astounding to me to find what I found there. To begin with, the people of Nkhata Bay knew nothing about agriculture before, apart from growing a little bit of rice and cassava. But when I went there last summer, it was not the Nkhata Bay that I knew in 1958, that I saw. It was a different Nkhata Bay altogether. Everywhere, there were signs of agricultural activities. As in Chitipa and Karonga, I saw mountains and mountains of maize in Nkhata Bay. And what was most interesting, revealing to me, was this, even the physical feature of the district has changed because of the agricultural activities by the people.

For example, when I first went to Nkhata Bay in 1958, as one left Mzuzu by car, before reaching the Boma, Chintheche or Nkhata Bay Boma, one saw or passed through a vast dambo called Limphasa Dambo, with reeds and elephant grass, mawango and nsenjere. It was vast, miles and miles of it. But when I went there last summer, the dambo had disappeared. It was all gardens, where there were mawango and nsenjere before. The disappearance of Limphasa Dambo is sufficient proof that the people of Nkhata Bay have taken agriculture very seriously.

### BETTER LIVING STANDARDS

As a result of agricultural activities in the North, the whole life-style of the people has changed. The Region is no longer poverty-stricken as it was when I came here in 1958. Both men and women are well dressed, well fed, and live in better houses than they did when I came home and first went there in 1958.

I have spoken at length about the Northern Region. But what has been said about the Northern Region can also be said about the other Regions, Southern Region and Central Region. There was poverty in the Southern Region in what is known as the Lower Shire, Nsanje and Chikwawa, and in the Central Region, Kasungu and Mchinji.

When I came back in 1958, Kasungu and Mchinji were poverty-stricken. To begin with, there was starvation. People were starving and they were poor. From September one year to March the next year, people had no food. What was even worse, they were not only without food, but they were poverty-stricken. And when they were in Lilongwe, to say nothing of Zomba and Blantyre, they did not want to reveal their home of origin.

They were ashamed to tell others that they were from Kasungu and Mchinji.

### MODERN FARMING

That was why, among other reasons, I decided to organise two farming companies there, General Farming and Press Farming; General Farming for both flue-cured tobacco and maize; Press Farming for burley, both in Kasungu and Mchinji. As a result of the organisation of these two companies, especially in Kasungu and Mchinji, the life-style of these two districts has changed drastically, for the better. Dire poverty is a thing of the past in these two districts now. People are no longer starving in Kasungu and Mchinji now. They are no longer poorly dressed.

I am happy to say that what has been said about Karonga, Chitipa and Nkhata Bay in the North, Kasungu and Mchinji in the Centre, where starvation and poverty are things of the past, can be said of all other districts in the Central Region and the Southern Region.

For example, in the Central Region, I went to Salima and Nkhotakota in February. There, to my pleasant surprise, I saw a beautiful crop of maize, a crop which, before, was unknown in these two districts. And in Salima, I was pleasantly surprised to see beautiful cotton as well. In addition, in these two districts, I saw people well dressed from farming.

### NO STARVATION

Here, in the South, I went to Mwanza, Mulanje, Thyolo, Machinga and Mangochi in January. All these districts knew nothing about agriculture before, particularly maize. There was starvation during the greater part of the year, and poverty in all these districts. But now, both dire poverty and starvation are things of the past, in all these dis-



tricts. I found the people, both men and women, well fed and well dressed in all these districts, Mwanza, Mulanje, Thyolo, Machinga and Mangochi.

You have heard me say that when I came back home and demanded the dissolution of the Federation and independence from the Colonial Government, European settlers, men like Michael Blackwood and Dixon, accused me of trying to sacrifice the wellbeing of the people of this country at the altar of my political ambition, and added that if the Federation was broken up and Colonial rule was abolished from Zomba, the people of this country would be starving, they would be going about naked, and tribal wars would be back. And there were Africans who believed this. Men like Chijozi, Chinyama, Charles Matinga, Andrew Mponda and Matthews Phiri, all believed this.

Well, the Federation is broken up; Colonial rule is abolished; but there is no starvation in the country; the people are not going about naked; the whole country is well-fed, well-dressed. People in the remotest parts of the country eat well, dress well. Therefore, Michael Blackwood, Dixon, Chijozi, Chinyama, Charles Matinga, Andrew Mponda and Matthews Phiri were all wrong.

Bwanas and Donas, ladies and gentlemen, in the North, in the South, in the Centre, Africans, Europeans, Asians, I wish everyone of you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

**Goodnight.**

/9317

CSO: 3400/924

MALAWI

# DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS RECEIVE WORLD BANK BOOST

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 24 Dec 85 p 3

[Text]

**DEVELOPMENT** projects in Malawi are to receive a K112 million boost, following the approval of two loans by the World Bank's board of executive directors.

Announcing this, the World Bank resident representative, Mr. Peter Hall, told the 'Daily Times' in Lilongwe that the approval last Thursday was for an African facility credit of about K64 million for a third structural adjustment operation and an International Development Association (IDA) credit of about K48 million.

'Malawi is the first African recipient of a third structural adjustment loan,' he stated, explaining that the credits — a follow-up of a K12 million loan made in June, 1981 and a K8 million credit in January last year — support the Government's adjustment programme.

'The programme is designed to encourage pro-

ductivity and efficiency, diversify the export base and promote exports, strengthen the Government's policy-making capability and improve the performance of development institutions,' Mr. Hall added.

He said the foreign exchange provided by the credit would be used for essential imports, with the Government using the counterpart funds for development purposes.

'In addition to IDA financing, the Government's structural adjustment programme is being co-financed by a K24 million grant from Usaid (the United States Agency for International Development) and several other bilateral donors are also expected to contribute,' Mr. Hall went on.

He stated that the Bank's board of executive directors also approved a loan of about K12.5 million to support an industrial and agricultural credit project.

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CSO: 3400/923

MALAWI

BRITISH AID ALLOCATIONS, DISTRIBUTION

Blantyre THIS IS MALAWI in English Jan 86 pp 8-9

[Text]

**The British Government will make available K31.7 million for Malawi's expenditure in 1986/87 for funding on-going projects and new initiatives, according to an agreement signed in Lilongwe on December 4, 1985.**

The agreement concluded two-day talks between the Malawi and British Governments in the Capital City on current and future levels of British aid to Malawi.

A senior official in the Ministry of Finance signed on behalf of the Malawi Government and the British High Commissioner to Malawi, Mr. Arthur Brind, signed on behalf of his government at the Treasury.

A press release issued at the signing ceremony said that out of the K31.7 million it was estimated during the talks that K18.3 million would be for technical cooperation.

The two delegations agreed to continue the allocation of funds to the on-going projects and also

agreed on a spending level in the 1986/87 financial year for new initiatives.

As has been the case in the previous years, the release stated, the financial assistance would be used for the training of Malawians, mostly in the United Kingdom, and supplementation of the British personnel working in Malawi.

It would also be used for projects mainly in the agriculture education and transportation sectors and the importation of essential spares and equipment of British origin for the maintenance of existing investment, it added.

British aid expenditure in Malawi at the end of the financial year 1985/86, the press release compared, is likely to total about K31.3 million. Out of this amount, it said, K15.8 million would be used for technical cooperation while K15.5 million would be spent on various development projects.

Speaking after the signing ceremony, the senior official in the Ministry of Finance thanked the British Government for its continued support to the economic development of this country.

He said the history of British aid to Malawi was long standing and warm one.

Malawi appreciated the fact that while there were economic constraints in many countries including the United Kingdom levels of aid it received from

Britain had not been reduced, he said.

The official assured the British envoy that Malawi would continue to use the aid given for the purpose intended.

Speaking earlier, Mr. Brind pledged his country's continued assistance to Malawi.

He said it was pleasing to note that his country's aid to Malawi had increased at a time when the British aid to many countries was decreasing●

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CSO: 3400/923

MALAWI

1985 SUGARCANE PRODUCTION DECLINES

Blantyre THIS IS MALAWI in English Jan 86 p 14

[Text]

**The Sugar Corporation of Malawi (SUCOMA) last year harvested less cane than previous year due to too much rain, problems with cane cutters as well as reduced hectareage.**

Speaking at a reception, which marked the end of the sugar milling season held at Shire Club at Nchalo in Chikwawa on November 25, SUCOMA's Personnel Manager, Mr. Ron Manda, said cane production had dropped from 100,000 tonnes previous year to 77,647 tonnes last year.

He said the corporation grew cane on 8,800 hectares during the season instead of its usual 9,000 hectares because it had diversified its crop production by growing cotton.

Mr. Manda said SUCOMA would in 1985/86 grow its full hectareage of 9,000 in order to attain the 100,000 tonnes production mark.

The agricultural field manager, Mr. Jean Claude Margeot, said that the drop in cane production was due to last year's continued rainfall which adversely affected cane production.

He said cane growing required well drained soils with plenty of sunshine which was not the case last growing season.

On the problem with cane cutters, Mr. Margeot said the cutters did not like covering side areas for their daily five tonne cane cutting agreement because in some fields the cane was scattered as replanting had not taken place for some years.

Both Mr. Manda and Mr. Margeot said should the situation improve this season, plans are underway for cane replanting in many fields so that cutters would in future cover smaller areas in their daily chores.

The reception was attended by Members of Parliament in the district, Party officials and local civil servants●

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CSO: 3400/923

MALAWI

EEC FUNDING FOR NTCHISI DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Blantyre THIS IS MALAWI in English Dec 85 p 15

[Text]

**The European Economic Community (EEC) in November approved a grant of K560,400 to the Malawi Government for financing the Ntchisi Rural Development Project, the Delegation of the Commission of the European Communities of Malawi announced.**

Ntchisi RDP, which is part of the Kasungu Agriculture Development Division (KADD), is located in the Central Region on the edge of the Rift Valley escarpment to the west of and contiguous with Nkhotakota RDP, part of the Salima Lakeshore ADD which is also being supported by the European Economic Community with grants exceeding K19 million.

The project has an area of 169,560 hectares of which 91,000 hectares are devoted to smallholder agriculture and an estimated population of 93,840 (1983) with some 20,400 farming families with 69 per cent of the smallholder farms in the 1-3 hectares size category.

According to announcement contained in a press release, the Ntchisi RDP, funded by the European Economic Community for a five-year period, is an integrated rural development project aimed at increasing agricultural production through improved crop and livestock production, and raising living standards and the incomes of the smallholder farm families who live in the area. During the funding period, the extension services will be improved, a new day training centre and extension planning office will be constructed in the south of the RDP.

Input supply will be widened by the provision of three input sheds through which ADMARC will supply crop and livestock requirements to the smallholder.

Smallholder credit facilities will be improved and livestock production in terms of milk and beef production will be increased by the use of medium term credit, the provision of dip tanks and slaughter slabs.

Medium term credit will also be used to improved coffee, citrus and macadamia nut production. Improved land use will be encouraged by the strengthening of the land husbandry service.

Infrastructural developments will include 42 km of feeder roads, 45 new boreholes constructed, project buildings and staff housing will also be supplies supplied, the press release said.

Ntchisi RDP is an intergral part of the Malawi Government's NRDP. The importance of the National Rural Development Programme in improving smallholder agriculture is readily recognised by the Commission of the European Community and is endorsed by the support the Community is providing in the Salima Lakeshore ADD and now in the Ntchisi RDP, the release said●

/9317

CSO: 3400/934



MALAWI

AMBASSADOR TO MOZAMBIQUE DISCUSSES MNR

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 18 Dec 85 p 1

[Text]

**PRESIDENT Samora Machel of Mozambique yesterday accused South Africa of using the bandits of the Mozambique National Resistance to sabotage the Mozambican economy and hinder the development of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference.**

The President made these remarks in Maputo while accepting the credentials of the new Malawian Ambassador to Mozambique, Mr. McLean Machinjili.

He noted that the banditry had damaging economic effects on Malawi, since landlocked Malawi's natural exits to the sea are the railways to the Mozambican ports of Beira and Nacala. These have been targets for sabotage, he said.

"Banditry directly affects the growth in our bi-

lateral economic relations," said the president, "and damages the social well-being the progress and the happiness of our peoples."

The President pledged that Mozambique would continue its struggle against banditry "with total commitment." He was certain "that Mozambique's victories will also be victories for the Malawian people."

President Machel reiterated Mozambique's support for the South African people in their struggle to build a democratic, just and non-racial society.

In his speech, Mr. Machinjili disassociated Malawi from the Mozambique National Resistance. His government was "very sad" at "the continued activities of the enemies of Mozambique" and regretted "the attempts by elements hostile to the de-

velopment of cordial relations of co-operation between our two countries to associate Malawi with the activities of anti-Frelimo bandits."

He pledged Malawi's respect for the sovereignty of other states and non-interference in their internal affairs.

Malawi, he said, "will not allow its territory to be used by the enemies of Mozambique or of any other states."

Mr. Machinjili also thanked President Machel for the efforts made by Mozambique to keep Malawi's routes to the sea open, and praised Mozambique's role in SADCC.

Progress made so far by SADCC "confirms that states with different philosophies cannot only co-exist peacefully, but can also co-operate in a fruitful manner," he added. AIM-/MANA

/9317  
CSO: 3400/923

MALAWI

# SMALLHOLD TEA FARMERS PRODUCE, EARN MORE

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 2 Jan 86 p 11

[Article by Clayble Mtuwa].

[Text]

**INDUSTRIOUS** smallholder tea farmers in Thyolo and Mulanje districts have earned a total of K2,655.57 out of 10,-208,976 kg of green leaf they sold to the Smallholder Tea Authority this year.

This was revealed in an interview with Mr. J. Hutson, the general manager of the Smallholder Tea Authority (STA).

He said a total of 8,291,-068 kg of green tea leaf was produced by the farmers from Mulanje which was sold to the Malawi Tea Factory Company (MA-TECO), a Smallholder Tea Factory based in Mulanje district.

He added that a further 1,917,908 kg of green leaf was bought from the Thyolo farmers and was sold by the authority to six commercial tea factories in Thyolo district.

## CREDIT

He said the green leaf crop in 1985 was two million kg more than the previous year.

"The credit for this increase must be given to the farmers' hard work as a result of an economic price being paid to them because of improved world market prices," the general manager added.

Mr. Hutson pointed out that production this year was assisted by good weather conditions and the availability of fertilizer which he said farmers could obtain on seasonal credit.

Turning to prices of tea for the past few years, Mr. Hutson said the basic price for green leaf had been static for many years.

"However, between 1983 and 1984 the basic price was raised by several steps to 12t per kg. in addition, the previous season (1983—84) a second payment of 13 tambala per kg was paid," Mr. Hutson added.

He said this year (1984-85), a second payment was approved by the Life President at 14 tambala per kg which led to a second payment of K1,429,910 last month.

"This means farmers will have earned the K2,655,587 in the year," Mr. Hutson noted.

#### **INCENTIVE**

He said the price increase had offered a very attractive incentive to smallholder tea farmers to do even better next season.

The Smallholder Tea Authority provides a market service for smallholder producers by buying green leaf from farmers in the field, transporting it and selling it on contract to a number of different factories.

However, approximately 80 per cent of the farmers' production is sold to the MATECO which is an associate company of the Smallholder Tea Auth-

ority with joint shareholdings by the authority and Admarc, according to Mr. Hutson.

MATECO, one of the most modern tea factories in Malawi exports all its primary grade teas for sale on the London market.

Average prices of MATECO, according to Mr. Hutson, were usually in excess of the Malawi average and occasionally topped the world average prices on the London Auction.

The company also sold its secondary grades at the Auctions in Limbe but this represented only about 12 per cent of the company's production, Mr. Hutson said. — Mana

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CSO: 3400/924

MALAWI

DEPUTY COMMANDER YOHANE ADDRESSES TROOPS

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 9 Dec 85 p 5

[Text]

**THE DEPUTY Army Commander Lt.-General I. Yohane on Friday called on officers and men of the Malawi Army to remain loyal to the Commander-In Chief of the armed forces His Excellency the Life President and the Government.**

He was speaking at a passing out parade at Kamuzu Military College grounds in Salima for 363 recruits after their seven months training.

Lt.-General Yohane advised the soldiers that the duty of the army was to defend and protect their country from internal and external enemies to ensure that peace and calm prevailed.

The Deputy Commander told the passing out soldiers that discipline was important in the discharging their duties and must at all times refrain

from politics. They must obey and be loyal to the government.

Lt.-General Yohane emphasised that officers and men must respect the Commander-In-Chief and their superiors and carry out their orders.

He praised the performance standard of the parade and the dress of the pass out soldiers. He advised them to uphold the standards they had shown while under training at the units they were to be posted.

During the 45 minute ceremony the Deputy Army Commander presented three meritorious medals to three officers for long service and good conduct medals to other officers and men.

The war cry of "sokole sokole" crowned the ceremony before the parade matched off the ground. — Mana

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CSO: 3400/934

MALAWI

BRIEFS

PHASE TWO TANZANIAN ROAD BEGINS--Dar es Salaam--The European Economic Community, Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America will finance the second phase of road linking Malawi and Tanzania, a World Bank official said. The World Bank resident representative, Ron Fennel, told Shihata in Dar-es-Salaam that the World Bank was co-ordinating efforts with the Malawian Government for the realisation of the project. Malawi and Tanzania are eager to develop a reliable transport route for international goods traffic as an alternative to the existing southern route.--Shihata/Pana/Mana [Text] [Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 17 Dec 85 p 7] /9317

CSO: 3400/934

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

SOVIETS TO BUILD SCHOOLS--Four new technical schools will be built in Mozambique with the support of the Soviet Union, Yuriy Speliyov, USSR ambassador in Mozambique, said today. He added that the cooperation between the two countries during 1985 was positive and concrete steps were taken in the fields of education, health, and transport. In February, during the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the general cooperation agreement between Mozambique and Soviet Union, a more detailed analysis of this bilateral cooperation would be made, Speliyov said. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1700 GMT 16 Jan 86 MB] /12232

SOVIET DONATION--The Soviet Consul in Beira has announced the imminent arrival of a USSR donation to be handed over to the emergency and support program to help Gorongosa residents. The donation is valued at \$650,000 and includes domestic implements, clothing, sewing machines, sports shoes, soap, and other products which will be distributed by Department for the Prevention and Combat of Natural Disasters in Sofalo to the victims of the armed bandits in the Gorongosa region. The Soviet diplomat revealed that the donation is a contribution from the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with African and Asian Countries, the Soviet [words indistinct] Defense of Peace, and the Committee of Soviet Women. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 22 Jan 86 MB] /12232

TALKS WITH GDR OFFICIALS--Senior officials of the Mozambique Workers Organization and GDR trade union officials condemned vehemently the Pretoria regime's destabilization policy during official talks in Berlin. The two parties also demand the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and they reiterated their wish that the 11th WFTU Congress steps up the trade union struggle against imperialism and colonialism. During the meeting, the two delegations noted that the cooperation in the trade union field between Mozambique and GDR is increasing satisfactorily. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0400 GMT 22 Jan 86 MB] /12232

CSO: 3400/946

TANZANIA

BRIEFS

DEVELOPMENT OF DAR ES SALAAM PORT--Speaking on Sept 27th during a visit to Burundi, the Secretary General of Public Works and Communications in Tanzania, Mr Ongara, said that Dar es Salaam's port was able to handle 3,500,000t of goods a year. He added though that in the 1977-78 period the port had been able to cope with 4,500,000t a year. [Excerpt] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Nov 85 p 24] /9317

CSO: 3400/911



ZIMBABWE

GOOD ECONOMIC PROSPECTS FOR 1986 SEEN

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (Business) in English 5 Jan 86 p 3

[Article by Angus Macmillan]

[Text]

WELL into its sixth year of independence, Zimbabwe enters 1986 with plenty of economic cheer and a solid platform for growth.

It is one of few countries in Africa to have made any real economic headway in 1985, and its progress is likely to continue this year.

Most credit for the country's recovery last year goes to farmers, manufacturers and the mining industry, which sells through a state-run minerals-marketing organisation.

Tobacco, cotton and maize farmers are looking forward to another bumper year after agricultural output grew by 25% in 1985 and earned substantial foreign exchange.

Zimbabwe's balance-of-payments surplus is estimated at Z\$200-million (R320-million) for 1985, only the second surplus since 1976 and Z\$40 higher than 1984's figure.

### Major source

Perhaps the most remarkable turnaround in 1985 was the return to profitability of many of the country's leading companies.

Turnover of the 50 industrial companies quoted on the Harare Stock Exchange was up 13% to Z\$1.9-billion in the year to July 1985.

Eighteen months ago the stock exchange was on the

verge of collapse, but now it is a major source for companies to raise equity and investors to combat inflation.

Between December 1984 and December 1985 only five of the 55 shares on the exchange failed to make gains.

The two biggest advances came from nickel producer Bindura (718%) and mining house Rio Tinto (475%).

### Commonplace

Chrome producer Zimbabwe Alloys and textile manufacturer David Whitehead also jumped by more than 400%.

Industrial shares recovered from an index low of 123 in January to a 1985 high of 267, and the mining index ended the year four times higher than it started.

Rights issues were commonplace on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange in 1985, and they are likely to be a popular means of raising capital in Zimbabwe in 1986.

Mashonaland Holdings, a broadly based industrial holding company, made a three-for-five offer to shareholders in November to raise \$3-million.

The issue was fully subscribed in December and is the most successful rights issue since independence in 1980.

Apart from keeping a tight string on foreign-exchange

allocations for the private sector, the Mugabe Government has so far pushed its socialist policies with restraint.

Economists say the government realises that profitable private enterprises pay income tax, embark on development programmes and create jobs — and unemployment is one of the country's gravest concerns.

### Alliance

The Mugabe regime realises that if the private sector prospers so, too, does Zimbabwe. However, 1986 will be a crucial year and could see Mr Mugabe accelerate social reforms.

The one-party state, involving an alliance with Joshua Nkomo's Zapu, appears a certainty which could seriously affect hopes of foreign investment on a large scale.

Another indication of economic recovery north of the Limpopo is the soaring price of residential properties.

House prices in Harare increased by about 50% last year to catch up with replacement costs. They will continue to rise this year as building costs spiral.

Shortage of foreign exchange is by far the most limiting factor for growth in

Zimbabwe, but, compared with most African exchequers, the Zimbabwe Reserve Bank is flush.

### Ridiculous

Speculation in Harare is that the government will soon take over the direct import and allocation of vehicles which enter the country in kit form.

There is a critical shortage of new vehicles in Zimbabwe which has pushed car prices to ridiculous levels.

A Datsun 1200 which was bought new for Z\$1 600 in 1974 now fetches about Z\$3 500 in spite of having chalked up 108 000km.

Then there is the returning resident who was offered Z\$20 000 for a Nissan Skyline he bought for R11 000 in Botswana in 1982.

The law of supply and demand rules without opposition in Zimbabwe, with electric toasters retailing at around Z\$100, simple electric lawnmowers going for Z\$600 and tennis balls fetching as much as Z\$4 each.

Zimbabwe is no longer cheap, as returning residents are finding out, but it is certainly a jewel in Africa for both black and white.

It kicks off 1986 better off in many ways than its big brother south of the Limpopo.

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CSO: 3400/912

ZIMBABWE

'DOUBLE AGENTS' BEGIN FIFTH YEAR IN JAIL

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 5 Jan 86 p 3

[Article by Robin Drew]

[Text]

HARARE — Two alleged double agents said to have spied for South Africa while working for Zimbabwe's Central Intelligence Organisation have begun their fifth year behind bars without being convicted by a court.

Mr Philip Hartlebury and Mr Colin Evans were arrested on New Year's Eve in 1981.

Their home since then, except for the initial weeks following their arrest by their former colleagues, has been the Chikurubi Maximum Security Prison on the outskirts of Harare.

Their "confessions" that they spied for South African military intelligence while working for the CIO were judged inadmissible by Mr Justice McNally at their trial in 1982 on the grounds that they were made under duress.

The rest of the State evidence was circumstantial and the two former Rhodesian Special Branch Men were acquitted but immediately re-detained.

Soon afterwards the Zimbabwe Government said Pretoria had offered to exchange 115 Angolan prisoners and one Soviet spy for the two men, but Harare turned down the offer.

A year ago Prime Minister Mugabe said new overtures had been made for the release of the two agents but these had also been rejected.

At the end of 1984, a judge upheld the finding by the review tribunal which periodically examines the cases of detainees, that Mr Hartlebury and Mr Evans remain in detention because their release could endanger Zimbabwe's security.

Mrs Justice Mavis Gibson, Zimbabwe's first black woman judge, said that even if the men were deported to Britain, it

was possible that South Africa would still want to make use of them.

A spy who had been caught need not be treated as a spent force, she said, and the tribunal was right to suspect they could still damage Zimbabwe.

The State maintained that the two young men, both in their late twenties at the time, were recruited for South African military intelligence by a senior officer in the CIO, Mr Geoffrey Price, who fled Zimbabwe shortly after their arrest and went to South Africa.

Their spying activities were said to concern mostly Russian and Cuban activities here and the movements of ANC personnel, including the chief representative, Mr Joe Gqabi, who was assassinated outside his home in July, 1981.

Their arrest came a couple of weeks after the destruction of the Zanu (PF) headquarters in a massive explosion in Harare.

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CSO: 3400/912

# TEACHERS SOUGHT FOR TRAINING IN CUBA

Harare THE HERALD in English 4 Jan 86 p 5

[Text] The Ministry of Education urgently invites applications from persons interested in training as teachers in Cuba.

A statement by the ministry yesterday said the course was a five-year programme leading to a teaching degree in either biology, chemistry, physics or mathematics.

Because of the possible applications for the course, the opening date for all 1986 first-year students for teacher training had been postponed to February 10.

Minimum entry qualifications for the Cuban course include at least five O level passes including English and Shona or Ndebele. Three of the subjects, including that which the candidate would like to study, must have been passed with a B grade or better.

The statement added that those who had studied the subjects at M or A level had an added advantage. Those candidates already admitted as first-year students at the local training colleges were also free to apply.

All applications had to reach the ministry before January 17 and should be addressed to: Ministry of Education, P.O. Box 8022, Causeway.

The scholarships were offered when the Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe, visited Cuba last year.

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CSO: 3400/912

ZIMBABWE

RADIO TRUTH URGES TROOPS' WITHDRAWAL FROM MOZAMBIQUE

MB171429 (Clandestine) Radio Truth in English to Zimbabwe 0430 GMT 17 Jan 86

[Station commentary: "Terrorism, Reform, and the ANC"]

[Text] The reported success of the combined Zimbabwe National Army-Frelimo Armed Forces [ZNA-FAM] offensive against the RENAMO base area as Gorongosa has been of limited value. Subsequent actions against other facilities in Manica and Sofalo Provinces have also failed to crush the resistance movement.

Recent communiques released by the MNR in Lisbon give the impression their forces are still a very potent factor in the Mozambican conflict. They may have suffered a few setbacks, but their strike capacity has not been blunted.

On 8 January, RENAMO claimed that in the last 2 weeks of 1985 their troops had killed a total of 277 government soldiers, Zimbabweans and Tanzanian support troops, and East German technicians. According to their report, 42 actions were mounted against Frelimo and its helpers between 15 and 30 December. Among the casualties there were alleged to be 61 members of our national army. We accept that both sides exaggerate their claims in official communiques in order to score points in the propaganda field. Nevertheless, if these figures are only half correct, Zimbabwe is paying dearly in precious lives for ZANU-PF's decision to embroil our army directly in the Mozambican civil war.

A few days ago, RENAMO claimed another stunning victory in their battle to force Frelimo to the conference table. It was alleged that MNR forces had captured the central city of Marromeu and destroyed the country's largest sugar mill. The MNR spokesman stated that 300 insurgents took part in the assault and the 235 Mozambican and Zimbabwean troops were killed in this action. The Marromeu sugar mill in northern Manica Province was run by Tiny Roland's Lonro organization in terms of an agreement concluded with the Frelimo regime last year. Large quantities of Soviet-made weapons and communication equipment were said to have been captured by the assault troops. These reports, even taken with a pinch of salt, confirm our view that Zimbabwe lives are being needlessly sacrificed in a highly questionable cause. For RENAMO to bounce back so rapidly and to operate over such a wide front, they must be enjoying a good deal of popular support internally. In those circumstances, ZANU-PF are wrong to back one segment of the population against another. Without question, we should continue to guard our life lines, but

we should avoid taking sides in an active sense on an issue that should be exclusively the preserve of the Mozambican people. It is they who must decide their future, for it is they who will have to live with the consequences of their decision. If they want the Marxist regime of Samora Michel to remain in power, which appears to be doubtful, they must be able to express that wish through the ballot box. Conversely, if they prefer a coalition government or a RENAMO administration, they must have the opportunity to say so in a demonstrably free and fair election. Before this can take place, Frelimo and RENAMO must negotiate a cease-fire and all parties must be free to campaign without [word indistinct] or hindrance throughout the country. Another big election with only Frelimo candidates in the field would be a fruitless and deceitful exercise.

Wives, parents, and loved ones of our soldiers serving in Mozambique should tell ZANU-PF representatives in no uncertain terms that our troops should be withdrawn from active combat. Our rulers ought to concentrate their energies on bringing the warring factions together and promoting peace in this region.

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CSO: 3400/946

ZIMBABWE

BRIEFS

BANDIT TO DIE FOR FOUR MURDERS--Bulawayo--A self-confessed bandit, Robson Moyo, who was in gangs which killed Republican Front Senator Paul Savage and three other people was sentenced to death on each of the murder charges in the Bulawayo High Court yesterday. He was also found guilty of one charge of attempted murder. Passing sentence, Mr Justice Kweku Korsah said Moyo had set out with gangs of bandits with the deliberate intentions of murdering Mr Edwards Mdlongwa in December 1982, calling him a "sellout" policeman. Moyo also murdered Senator Savage, his daughter Colleen and a family friend Sanera Bennett, at the Savage ranch the following April. Moyo said during the trial he joined the dissidents in 1982 after deserting from the army because he did not want to be part of the government which, he said, was no different from the ousted Rhodesian government. Asked by the judge if he had any reason to offer why he should not be sentenced to death, Moyo said he had none.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 16 Jan 86 p 12] /9317

CSO: 3400/912



SOUTH AFRICA

NEW HEAD OF DEFENSE FORCE GRANTS INTERVIEW

Pretoria PARATUS in Afrikaans Nov 85 pp 12-14

[Interview with Gen Jannie Geldenhuys, new head of Defense Force, by representatives of Defense Force publications, in the last week of October: "Gen Jannie Geldenhuys: The Soldier and the Man"; place not given]

[Text] A career in law or as a sports journalist seemed very attractive to Johannes Jacobus Geldenhuys when he matriculated from Voortrekker High School in Bethlehem in 1952. But a year at the Military Academy where he had gone to reflect about his future prodded his interest so much that he decided to join up with the Defense Force permanently. He was selected for officer training and in 1956 he earned the degree B. Mil. [undergraduate degree in military science] at the University of Pretoria, after which he was appointed second lieutenant at the First Special Service Battalion in Bloemfontein. He subsequently filled several posts, successfully completed the prescribed advancement courses as well as the South African Army's staff service course and three military courses overseas. In 1970, he was named senior staff officer for operations at the South-West Africa command in Windhoek. In October 1973, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier and appointed as commander of the same command. In 1976, he became head of Army staff operations with the rank of major general after he had filled the post of head of Army staff intelligence and director of operations in the SA Army. In 1977 he was back in Windhoek as commanding general of South-West Africa command. On 7 October 1980, he was promoted to lieutenant general and made head of the SA Army. The climax of his glorious career comes on 1 November 1985, when he takes over from Gen C. L. Viljoen as the new head of the South African Defense Force.

A week before his assumption of command, General Geldenhuys allowed an interview with members of the Defense Force involved with Defense Force publications. He spoke openly about his interests and future expectations. It became irrefutably obvious that he has a particular interest in the well-being of his people. In a relaxed atmosphere that promoted open conversation, he gave vent to his opinions--often after deep reflection--on a variety of subjects affecting the broad spectrum of the Defense Force. Gen Jannie Geldenhuys, the soldier and the man, stepped assertively to the front.



He said that the Defense Force is such a large organization that he not only has room for, but also has a need for people with various traits, interests and qualifications. The Defense Force also has room for various styles. One need not be a particular sort of person in order to be able to adjust to the Defense Force. If one looks at famous people from history, one finds military personalities there with divergent natures, all of whom were achievers.

#### Delegate

General Geldenhuys spoke out strongly about the importance of being able to delegate [responsibilities]. This was with respect to a question about the saying, "In the middle of the night you can hear the generals fight."

"Just because someone has said this, does not mean that this is a wise statement or a true statement," General Geldenhuys said. This reminded him of General Montgomery, who during the Battle of El Alamein was awakened in the middle of the night by his chief of staff, Sir Francis De Guingand. "A historic battle was taking place and things at one point were not going well. He thought that Montgomery should know about this and perhaps do something about it. But Montgomery told him, 'No, don't wake me up. Everything that I could do, I have done, and it would be difficult to interfere with that now. I have confidence in the commanders who must deal with this situation. I must rest, because I must think about what we should do after El Alamein.'"

"Thus, he was not a 'nighttime commander.' Now, I do not want to judge from this anecdote whether it was right or wrong, but this at least serves to illustrate that it is a commander's job to think about what he should do today and tomorrow in order for a situation to go successfully in a week or a month or a year. This means that one must delegate. I think that there are people who have a false understanding of delegating. It does not mean distributing work. Delegating means giving a subordinate the right to make decisions on his own. Many commanders and leaders tend to be afraid to delegate. There is always the fear that the subordinate will not do things right and that mistakes might be made. The feeling arises that if you want something to be done right, you should do it yourself. But then, one is always occupied with prevailing matters and not with future matters. In the private sector it is easier to delegate because it can happen in a state organization that if things go wrong, someone at the top level can cause the government embarrassment or put it in an unfavorable situation."

#### Aspirations

General Geldenhuys said in a serious vein that if one grows up in the Defense Force (at least, such was his experience) one tends to become less aware of one's own personal aspirations.

"This was certainly so in my case, and there are not any particular cliches or golden rules to which I turned for my own personal interests. One thinks more in terms of: you are together with many other people in the same organization, and you should achieve certain things for that organization, for your defense force and for your country. In order to keep the Defense Force a

first-rate Defense Force, one must look to the bottom. One must develop or have a sensitivity for people further down in the organization."

## Leadership

General Geldenhuys said that one can measure leadership by two main characteristics. One main characteristic is a leader's sensitivity, his awareness and his orientation to getting a task done and showing results.

"The other characteristic is his sensitivity to the well-being of his men. You get people who are excessively task-oriented--the 'slave driver' who does not care how he handles his people as long as he can show results and the task is accomplished. Other people might tend to be too oriented to people--such as the man who gives his secretary an apple when he comes to work in the morning, or a box of chocolates when he leaves. Anything can go wrong in the organization as long as the people are not mad at one another. This sort of unpleasantness must be avoided at all costs!

"But these are the two extremes. One must be both strongly oriented towards getting the job done and strongly oriented towards having genuine interest in one's people. In the Defense Force, with its command structure, a large role is played by discipline, obedience and enforced obedience. There may be a tendency to be overly task-oriented, at the expense of human orientation. This is something that every leader must keep in mind. He must see to it that the right balance is maintained."

General Geldenhuys said that he would like to have a well-rounded leader who satisfies all these prerequisites. A goal orientation and a human orientation, the two things that he mentioned, are basic prerequisites.

"A leader is a man with a goal, even if a goal is given to him and achieving this goal is the same thing as getting a task done. A leader has to want to win. Because a defense force, or the leaders within a defense force, is actually responsible for managing conflict. If you are in a conflict situation, then you have to win. If you are boxing or playing rugby, you play to win. But to get back to the sort of conflict situation in which the Defense Force is involved: The results of losing are a little worse than when you lose in sports. In war, the one who wins is the one who was right and the one who loses is the one who was wrong. The one who wins is the one who writes history. The one who loses constitutes the war criminals. You have never heard of war criminals who win a war.

"Our country has been in conflict for centuries and will probably be in one conflict or another for many years to come. Losing a conflict could be disastrous for the country and all its people."

## Change

To a question on whether he sees a great amount of change in the Defense Force now that he has taken over, General Geldenhuys responded:

"This is not the first time that I have assumed power from General Viljoen.

Before I took over from him, and also when I took over from him as head of the Army, he said to me, 'Geldenhuis, I did not know that the Army was really as big as it is.' It was not until I became head of the Army that I realized everything that it encompasses. And General Viljoen was right.

"I believe that the Defense Force as a whole is probably much larger than what I think, because I have after all followed a normal path as infantryman and member of the SA Army. I certainly have much to learn about the Air Force, and this is also true for the Navy and the SA Medical Service, as well as other aspects of the SADF.

"I am not coming into this post with preconceived ideas about what I am going to do, because I must first undergo a period of schooling and experience. I must allow myself this time to get well acquainted with things. We have had a very first-rate head of the Defense Force, and there is no conspicuous reason to think that anything should now suddenly be done differently."

#### Books

To a question concerning where he got the time to write his humorous books with a historical background, he said with a twinkle in his eye, "I didn't have time. I wrote when I was on leave! Actually, I only wrote for my own satisfaction. I have a lay interest in history, but not as it is offered at school where history is often a big clump of names and places and figures which a student has to learn in spite of himself for the sake of exams. History is really just the stories of people, and if you throw them all together, it is the story of mankind."

General Geldenhuis gave his questioners a good laugh when he said, "It is interesting to think what would have happened if Cleopatra had not had teeth. I think that then Julius Caesar and Marcus Antonius would not have been as interested in her and that history might have developed differently! It's not strange or anything else to be fond of stories. This is why I like history."

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CSO: 3401/61

SOUTH AFRICA

GENERAL VILJOEN STRESSES PERSEVERANCE IN FAREWELL SPEECH

Pretoria PARATUS in Afrikaans Nov 85 p 9

["Summary" of speech by Gen Constand Viljoen, former head of the South African Defense Force, on the occasion of his retirement: "'Fighting Spirit as Strong as Granite'"; date and place not given]

In his farewell message, Gen Constand Viljoen said that our enemies will not succeed in their objectives "because the fighting spirit, the will to prevail, is a tradition in South Africa--as strong and as sure as granite."

The following is a summary of his speech:

"The South African Defense Force [SADF] serves the entire country, all of the elements of this country, all of the peoples of this country, all of the population groups of this country.

"Every nation of people has a right to self-defense, and that is why we are here. That is why we have a Defense Force, consisting of manpower, weapon power and the power of motivation, to bear the load of this large and important task of the defense of our fatherland. The South African Defense Force is public property, and it is an invariable factor that will exist for decades and centuries. Governments will come and governments will go, political parties will come and then disappear. The same is true of opinions. Even conflicts will come and go, but the SADF is like the land that it defends: public property. This binding factor in our people is a factor that will assure stability in a country like South Africa under difficult circumstances.

"We serve in the South African Defense Force, not to prevent change, because we believe that controlled change will be in the interest of all the peoples of our Defense Force and those that we defend. But, we serve to protect this country and all its inhabitants against the disaster of a revolution. Already we notice in our country the signs of the same strategy as we have come across elsewhere--the systematic basic elimination of leaders of moderate groups, some of them in most barbaric ways, to terrorize people into certain political and ideological thinkings and groupings.



"To the South African Defense Force I say today: We serve a just cause. Our enemies might attack this viewpoint, but remember, it is a very definite phase in the strategy of our enemies to belittle and to neutralize the security forces, which is the main stumbling block in their way to success...

"The South African Defense Force...is made up of all the peoples of this country...and its policy is to be a friend to all the population groups of this country. This defense force will not make such a thing possible for our enemies, because the fighting spirit, the will to prevail, is a tradition in South Africa, as strong and as sure as granite. I want to say to every member of the SADF: you have earned my loyalty and dedication in this important task that you have. To every member of the Permanent Force and the full-time force, thank you very much. Every member of the Citizen Force, every member of the commando, our part-time forces, every member of the civilian population who has worked with us. To all of you I wish to say THANK YOU VERY MUCH. Carry on with the good work. We will eventually succeed if we stand strongly enough.

"If I can address a message to the nation of South Africa. I would just like to make two points at this stage. Firstly, this is YOUR Defense Force. The SADF is from the people for the people. Therefore, remember that the motivation for this Defense Force comes from you; the way in which you react toward the Defense Force will determine their motivation and dedication to duty. So, therefore, don't use the South African Defense Force as a football in the political game..."

General Viljoen thanked organizations such as the Southern Cross Fund and all other organizations and the general public who so generously supported these organizations for the benefit of our men and women in uniform.

He continued: "The second point I would like to stress is this: You must know your enemy. You must be able to identify the actions of your enemy. There must be a much keener interest from the general public in exactly what the attitudes and the intentions of our enemies are. This is the type of conflict which cannot be solved only by security forces. I therefore plead for everybody in this country to become involved. We need a total involvement to counter the revolutionary aims of the enemy which we have to face.

"Finally, I would like to say: I believe that we in South Africa will succeed in making this country a happy home for all its people. This is our goal, this is what we are fighting for. We also believe that the SADF and the security forces will win enough time and will preserve enough peace for our political masters to complete their difficult task. And it is a difficult task. I believe in the work that I have done in the SADF. I believe that we are a strong Defense Force and that we have sufficient perseverance to do what is expected of us in the years ahead, because there is no alternative to our victory. This is what we must pursue. God bless the South African Defense Force; God bless and save our country, South Africa."

12271

CSO: 3401/61

SOUTH AFRICA

VILJOEN ON FUNCTION OF ARMED FORCES, AIM OF ANC

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 27 Nov 85 p 9

[Unattributed article: "Do Not Serve Partisan Interests, Says Viljoen: Stability SADF's Function"]

[Text] The Defense Force does not promote partisan interests and does not stand in the way of the political evolution of all the inhabitants of South Africa. "We protect the process of evolution and sincerely hope that lasting stability will be achieved," said General Constand Viljoen, retired head of the Defense Force, in his farewell message in the latest issue of PARATUS.

Gen Viljoen said that the country and its people are going to "be heavily dependent on the Defense Force in the years to come." "We will have to lend support and stability in years of conflict and ideological differences.

"We must continue to maintain neutrality in these differences and continue to provide our country and its people with loyal service."

If the Defense Force were to withdraw its protection from certain residential areas--as is being demanded in some circles--who would then stop the murder and burning and intimidation of numerous peace-loving people? Gen Viljoen asked.

It is often alleged that this activity is perpetrated spontaneously by a politically wronged population, and that there will be peace as soon as the political problems are resolved.

"Anything but that! The ANC's leadership structure includes a large percentage of members of the banned SA Communist Party."

According to Gen Viljoen, the Communist Party is oriented towards eliminating a strong Defense Force that protects innocent victims.

12271  
CSO: 3401/62

SOUTH AFRICA

MORE PEOPLE EMIGRATING THAN IMMIGRATING SINCE JULY

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 27 Nov 85 p 4

[Text] Pretoria--Since July of this year, South Africa has for the first time in 7 years experienced a net loss in migration.

According to figures from the Department of Statistics in Pretoria, the country had a net loss in migration of 299 people in July of this year and a loss of 332 in August.

It was the first time since August 1978 that more people have left the country than the number who have immigrated. Three years ago, there was a monthly gain in immigrants amounting to approximately 3,500 people.

According to the most recent figures of the Department of Statistics for August of this year, a total of 1,450 emigrants left the country in that month while 1,118 immigrants came from elsewhere to settle in the Republic. Last August there were 711 emigrants and 2,171 immigrants.

Spokesmen attribute the turnaround in migration figures primarily to the political uncertainty in South Africa due to the unrest over the last few months in Black residential areas. The economic recession has probably also contributed to this.

The most popular country for emigrants by far is Great Britain. In August a total of 733 people, of whom 649 held British passports, emigrated to that country.

This was followed by Australia (with 229), Zimbabwe (109) and the United States (101). West Germany drew 44 people, Israel 38 and Canada 33.

The largest number of immigrants also came from Great Britain, although that number was somewhat smaller than the number who moved there--369 against 733. This was followed by 268 from Zimbabwe, 140 from Portugal, 62 from West Germany and 41 from Israel.

12271

CSO: 3401/62



SOUTH AFRICA

AFRIKANERS SIGN MANIFESTO ON SELF-PRESERVATION

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 23 Oct 85 pp 8-9

[Article: "Afrikaners Enter Into Covenant for Freedom"]

[Text] On 10 October at Silkaatsnek, nearly 5,000 Afrikaners entered into a covenant to stand by one another and to fight for the self-preservation of the Afrikaner. The complete text is published as follows.

Afrikaners numbering in the thousands who met on 10 October 1985 at Silkaatsnek regret that our national sanctuaries, such as the Voortrekker Monument, the Women's Monument and Blood River have been closed to us by the authorities. These historic places lie desolate, unless they are being trampled upon by strangers, while Afrikaners across the length and breadth of our country would like to march to these sanctuaries by the hundreds of thousands in order to pay homage to previous generations and to draw strength from the glorious Voortrekker past for the struggle before which they stand.

We are in large numbers here today because we sense that we are experiencing the darkest hours of our national existence. Just like 150 years ago, Afrikaners are watching as the country for which they paid such a high price is being given away; as their nationalism is being stifled; as their peaceful and secure existence is being disrupted; as their freedom is being endangered and Black domination is coming closer by the day. We are already once again a nation of people without a country, without our own government, without unity and without the power to safeguard ourselves against the attacks, but not without a future.

The Afrikaner people was called into existence by God, and throughout our meandering history we see His hand of salvation: each time, He saved us and brought us back to our destined role of fulfilling our calling in Africa as a White nation of people. As long as we remain true to this and it pleases Him, no power in the world will be able to snuff out our nationhood. We have a divine right to remain Afrikaners and to be free as a people.

We are here today to thank God for his protection, for the grace that He has granted us to dedicate our lives to Him. We are here to plead for the nation of people, for strength in the struggle for our continued existence.

We are here for heart-searching. To look to the past for the edifying and lasting message of previous generations and to convey this to the generations that are now living and that are yet to come, for the sake of providing direction and inspiration for the struggle.

Today we look at the heroism in our own history, at men and women who strove upwardly and were victorious. Through their deeds and through the conduct of their lives, the heroes of our past have enlightened and inspired the people. They continue to do so today. The heroes whom we honor are not only men and women of the past, but also those of the future. Their memory and legacy call us into action, indicate the way, glorify and inspire us.

For this reason, we are here today not only to look back on the 150 years of Voortrekker history which is over with, but also to rouse and strengthen one another into actions that will speak to all the generations yet to come. Those holding ceremonies in 150 years and looking back into their past must be able to find direction and inspiration in our deeds of today.

They must be able to see that we did not give in, that we were a generation that was decisive, determined, and which stood, struggled and suffered loyally to the death for the preservation of "our language, our nation and our country." It must be possible for them to be uplifted by the fact that in the time of our greatest threat we did not shrink from danger, but rather fought steadfastly for the continued existence of our nation of people and made the necessary sacrifices.

We cannot go away from here today without having entered into a covenant, a covenant with one another and with our fellow citizens who are not here, and with the positions and actions explained as follows:

#### Political

We believe in the right of every nation of people to be free. We therefore stand irrevocably committed to republican freedom for the Afrikaner people.

We also recognize the right of every Non-White nation of people to be free and we reject the idea that a people with material advantages can be persuaded to remain submissive. Peoples that do not want to be free by choice obviously remain subordinated and without any claims to political power.

The idea that a deeply divided society such as that of the Republic of South Africa can peacefully constitute one state is refuted by scientific research and by history. Afrikaners will have nothing to do with the abandonment of identity and with cultural suicide in a state such as this.

We reject integration in all its forms. The Voortrekkers guarded against the mixing of the races, and this is why our nation of people has persevered to this day. We will have to do this as well, and the generations after us, so that in 150 years or in 500 years we can still celebrate Kruger Day as the Afrikaner nation.

We are adamantly opposed to a unified state with Indians, Coloreds and Blacks. The Afrikaner's political independence is non-negotiable. Political power is not shared with any other people or group.

We want to preserve and extend our beliefs, our philosophy, our values and our history and transmit them to future generations, which we cannot do in a mixed society, in which we constitute scarcely five percent of the population.

The expectation that an enforceable constitution can be devised that will protect Whites in one state together with Non-Whites against jostling and domination is a delusion that will not be fulfilled.

We are also not misled by fantasies of a society in which it will never be possible for one group to be dominated by another because they are all minority groups. Blacks, with their superior numbers, are obviously not planning to divide themselves up such that they can be frustrated in their struggle for power. This is why Black leaders are to this day not willing to negotiate.

History teaches us that after a time "moderate" leaders make the same demands as the leaders of violence and ultimately team up with them against Whites. Agreements between Whites and "moderate" Black leaders against other Blacks fail automatically.

In our own country, we see today how these "moderates," together with enemy forces from outside the country and with foreign financial power are demanding that perpetrators of violence be freed and unconditionally permitted to sit at the negotiating table. Once political power is in the hands of the perpetrators of violence, apartheid will be abolished.

Because of this, we view it as irresponsible to give assurances that calm, peace, prosperity and foreign acceptance will rain down on us if we stipulate a constitution with "moderates."

#### Economic Realm

White workers are entitled to protection in their own country.

The charges that separate development is responsible for the impoverishment of our people and that well-being will be restored if it is abolished should be greeted with the contempt that they deserve. There is no sign of this in the states of Africa where Black domination has come about and where separate development was never official policy.

On the contrary. Stability and progress have predominated under separate development and were nullified when the authorities began to show that they are going to yield to liberalism and accept integration as official policy.

Statements by business leaders against the Afrikaner's distinctive policy and the false depictions on television and in the newspapers of that policy foment violence and raise the revolutionary spirit that is present in our country.

It is the new constitutional dispensation that is consuming billions of rands, and the policy of injudiciously keeping well-being away from Whites and trying to give it to Non-Whites that is causing impoverishment and unemployment among our people and plunging our nation into the greatest conceivable economic distress. This is the source of the instability and the unrest that has arisen.

Every nation of people in the world cares for its workers, protects their interests, gives preference to them and excludes the workers of other nations through immigration and influx control and through work permits. A sovereign Afrikaner nation of people will also do this in its country.

#### Our Fatherland

A nation of people needs its own country in order to continue to exist.

The policy of one country, one population, one citizenship and one government under one constitution for all inhabitants has nullified the existence of a White country. As was the case 150 years ago, the Afrikaner has again been robbed of his country. His protection and claim to preference and political power in his fatherland has again, as was the case in 1828, been taken away from him by legislation.

Our nation of people cannot rest until this wrong has been righted. No people's future is secure in a country that is not exclusively theirs, in which they do not rule, live and work. We must commit ourselves to this, and we must work and make sacrifices for the sake of this. Without this, we are doomed to being supplanted, oppressed and annihilated, to being scattered among strangers and left to the mercies of others.

There is a psychological bond between a nation of people and its fatherland. As long as the Afrikaner views himself as a nation of people and rejects the status of a minority group, he maintains his right to his own fatherland and he declares his readiness to protect that right with his life.

Battle cries to the effect that there is no time left for such drastic change should be rejected. It would be disastrous to give in to it. Such battle cries lead to fruitless and short-sighted action; short-term solutions that do not penetrate to the heart of the issue of country and land are no longer of any use. Today, we can choose between freedom next to other people, or being engulfed by or dispersed among other people. The choice that we make is the choice of our own fatherland which becomes the physical home for the spiritual distinctiveness of our people.

#### Realm of Education

We believe in a separate educational system for Afrikaners, cast in a Christian-national mold.

The plan to introduce one educational system for all peoples, in accordance with the idea of a unified state, is unacceptable and will be resisted with



all force. The mixing that already exists at schools and universities is destructive to the nations of people and should be undone.

The state and education are dominated today by liberalism, which fosters a spirit of disloyalty to one's people and undermines our continued existence. The presence of liberalism in our society must be thoroughly looked into and uprooted.

It is furthermore unjust to disrupt Afrikaner education through mixing, through diverting funding and resources to Non-White education with the goal of equality, by forcing Afrikaner families to foot the bill for their children's education and for facilities and services at schools, above and beyond the taxes that they pay. Equality of education is often nothing more than the pursuit of sameness, and it is a chased illusion. In the unified state in which we are now embarking, White education will in time be made equal to Non-White education, and not the other way around.

We reject the theory that school buildings, sports facilities, laboratories, art schools, libraries and other services and facilities that have been built and cherished in White areas by Whites should simply be opened up to Non-Whites under the pretext that this will promote good relations. A nation of people sees to its own education, and this is true not only for the Afrikaner.

The spirit of "integrate or die" that has taken root in education is neither recognized nor tolerated by us. It will be ruthlessly combatted and rooted out from Afrikaner education. We will not allow ourselves to be threatened by liberalistic tricks, such as the threat that our degrees will not be recognized abroad if we do not integrate or that violence will increase if we do not continue to open up. The Afrikaner's respect for law and order and his politeness should not be seen as spinelessness.

Education should flow forth from the disposition of the people, it should take place in the native language and in the religious faith of the nation of people, and it should not be the means by which a cultural revolution is carried out. Neither in formal and informal education, nor in school sports or any other opportunity for contact which is required of children.

#### Religious Realm

The church is not a tool of integration.

We profess that God is the God of all believers. We accept Him as the Creator of all peoples. All are called to believe in him and to accept the salvation of Christ. This is the message that the church must propagate with joy and in obedience.

However, we reject the theory that the Afrikaner's endeavor to remain free and White is contrary to the Bible. To say that the right of nations of people to develop separately cannot be justified on Biblical grounds but that the Bible calls on us to integrate, is indicative of liberalistic erroneous thinking and undermining. We view the profession of "remorse" by certain pastors

concerning their own "complicity" and that of their church in separate development as politicizing that cannot be condemned strongly enough.

Clerics such as this are misusing the church to exert moral constraint on the Afrikaner so that he will assume a false feeling of guilt and abandon the freedom and sense of calling for which his forefathers fought and suffered. They are turning the church into a tool of integration, of revolutionary reform and revolt, which is in conflict with the essence of the church's message.

As people who hold to the Bible as the Word of God, we lament this false message of liberation that is being disseminated. The gospel message is thus being distorted, the faithful are being confused and misled instead of being helped to live a devout life. Those who are guilty of this are creating a schism in the church.

Our view is that the members of the church should call for Christian responsibility with a recognition of the calling of each nation of people, of its right to continued existence in its own space where it can worship and pray to God, and of its right to resist the heresy of equality in a unified state.

With this, we take our position on several of the fundamental issues for which we stand. We wish to make it clear that an agreement on the future of the peoples of South Africa will not be a lasting agreement unless these positions are included in it. We declare that the Afrikaner nation of people cannot be disregarded.

For this reason, a call must also go out for deed, for work and inspiration. Our enemies fear nothing more than the possibility that the Afrikaner people will close their ranks and unite. If this happens, all of their calculations will be endangered, they are at a loss with the Boer nation of people, and they will do everything in their power to keep us divided and carry out their evil plans before the people have realized what they are doing.

We must pray and work for unity in all realms of life, based on the principles that we have adopted here. We must build on this foundation. Organizations and other forces that try to entice us away from this, that wish to dictate to us a lukewarm or uninvolved attitude, that expect us to serve two masters or that expect us to support integration must be fought tooth and nail, on both the inside and the outside. We have taken our stand, and we must act in accordance with it. We must work to bring together those of us who belong together because of inner conviction. We must inspire and reinforce one another.

We appeal to all Afrikaners and to all other Whites who want to join forces with the Afrikaner to devote serious reflection to our nation of people, to what we should do to ward off the looming danger of mixing and being engulfed, and to how we can join in this struggle. In our reflections we must not lose sight of our readiness to make sacrifices and endure suffering.

We also wish to appeal to our leaders to attempt to gauge the will and the capabilities of our people to offer resistance and to string it together so that it can be a weapon in the struggle. If necessary, we should hold our own plebiscite or opinion poll, with this organization as a guideline, just as Paul Kruger held his own plebiscite during the occupation of Shepstone. Such an act could give leaders strength if they know on whose behalf they are acting and with what authority they are able to act. Activities such as this can also help us to build unity based on non-negotiable principles; it will help us to break out of the situation in which government authorities and forces, especially the liberalistic television and newspapers, are able to pass Afrikaner resistance off as insignificant. Such notions are quite dangerous and must be combatted.

With this gathering, we have shown today that despite the most glaring and unprecedented governmental obstructions, the Afrikaner nation of people does indeed want to stand together and will stand together in its struggle for self-preservation. We are planting a small sapling here today, as Jopie Fourie said, but it is a sapling that will grow into a large tree. We are entering into a covenant with one another here that must radiate out across the length and breadth of our country. It is a clarion call to all Afrikaners that they not buckle under but rather stand in strength and fight for our nation of people in our country under our government.

12271

CSO: 3401/40



SOUTH AFRICA

BEACH TO CHARGE ENTRANCE FEE

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 30 Nov 85 p 11

[Text] Beginning next weekend, beach-goers on certain beaches will have to pay for their spot in the sun for the first time in the Cape municipal area. A payment system is being put into effect tomorrow in a demarcated part of Kampsbaai Beach and Milton's Pool, near Sea Point.

A payment system is already in effect at Oudekraal, which is under the jurisdiction of the Cape Divisional Council, according to Mr Jack Kloppers, the municipality's director of bathing facilities.

The fence separating part of Kampsbaai Beach and the children's pool was to have been finished the day before yesterday.

Adults wishing to use the demarcated parts of beaches must pay one rand; the charge is 40 cents for children. According to Mr Kloppers, five cashiers have already been hired to man the two turnstiles at Kampsbaai and the one at Milton's Pool.

The cashiers will be on duty from eight o'clock in the morning until five o'clock in the afternoon. "If we find that people are still streaming to the beaches after five o'clock, it is possible that we will extend the hours," Mr Kampsbaai said.

In order to facilitate control, people who leave the area have to pay to reenter.

A similar system will go into effect on 11 December at Mnandi Beach when an amusement complex opens there.

12271  
CSO: 3401/62

SOUTH AFRICA

AZAPO THREATENS LEGAL ACTION OVER BAN ON MEETINGS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 13 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Sy Makaringe]

[Text]

**THE Azanian People's Organisation has threatened to take legal action following the banning yesterday of a public meeting called by the Vosloorus Parents' Committee.**

The meeting was to have been held at the Vosloorus Civic Centre.

An Azapo spokesman yesterday said the banning of meetings was a calculated act to bring disarray in the black community.

"Children need direction whether they are in school or not. We will not take this lying down.

**Order**

"We feel very strongly about this. We'll contest all banings of meetings in future because they are unjustifiable and in bad faith," the spokesman said.

The Vosloorus meeting was planned to discuss resolutions taken at the "Education Sum-

mit" attended by more than 160 organisations at the University of the Witwatersrand recently.

The order was signed by Mr John Cornelius M Roots, magistrate of Boksburg.

More than 400 people arrived at the Civic Centre shortly before the meeting was to start, but the gates were locked.

This meeting will now be held at the Methodist Church in Vosloorus, Boksburg, a few minutes after 6pm, when the ban ends.

Another meeting banned at the weekend which was to be at the Lenasia Civic Centre will also be held tonight. A spokesman for the organisers said hundreds of people turned up for the Friday night meeting at this venue. It was to discuss the schools issue.

This meeting will also start shortly after 6pm when the weekend ban ends.

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CSO: 3400/932

SOUTH AFRICA

SOWETO CITY COUNCIL'S HOUSING PLANS PRAISED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 10 Jan 86 p 6

[Commentary: "Best News of the Year"]

[Text]

**I**T is unhappily very rare for us to throw bouquets rather than brickbats at officials.

We are pleased to tilt our hats in the direction of the Soweto City Council.

The reason is that the council plans to build thousands of houses for residents. That people have been on the waiting list for more than 10 years is scandalous.

This, to a large extent, contributed to the unrest and instability in black townships.

Mr Nelson Botile said several interesting things about houses for lower income groups, while the Soweto Council is not forgetting those in the upper economic brackets.

Money has been budgetted, according to Mr Botile, to build an infrastructure in Protea South.

This is the best news we have heard so far this year.

The Soweto Council is setting an excellent example to all local councils and even to the Government. At the beginning of each year the people need to be given a spirit, or at least, a sense of optimism.

Instead of bad news about increased prices, what better way to make the people feel good than to decide to build houses for them?

As we speak the number of shacks built in most townships is rising alarmingly. We are thinking in particular of houses under the Diepmeadow Council.

This council should take a leaf from the Soweto Council and build more houses for people at the bottom of the ladder.

We can assure all officials that it takes a positive step like this to help resolve the various crises we are faced with.

We are not saying everything will be solved, but an atmosphere of goodwill, so badly needed, is created.

The Government, in particular, should be thinking about acting along these lines.

We have tried to indicate this in the past, even when we spoke to government officials personally. An atmosphere of reform cannot be created when the people have so many problems.

We do not believe it would cost the state too much to spend money on several black townships — building houses, improving community facilities.

In short, decrease the number of reasons people have to feel sore.

It is so basic we despair that it has not been taken up. In fact it has been our contention that the other major political problems which need to be addressed can only get proper attention from people satisfied in their day-to-day lives.

Such good news also becomes infectious.

We are beginning to look around us. It does seem that the number of pass raids that have been so disgracefully carried out by healthy policemen, have been scaled down.

We do not know if this is by accident — perhaps because of the state of emergency — or by design. But it does not matter.

As long as the Government and its functionaries address themselves to community matters that do not need too much money or effort to resolve, we will be the first to praise them.

The Soweto City Council should carry on this scheme to the best of its ability.

We will not be so remiss as to ignore such excellent proposals.

/9317

CSO: 3400/933

SOWETO TO GET MORE HOUSES

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 9 Jan 86 p 2

[Text]

**THE Soweto City Council is to build more than 1 870 houses for both the middle and lower income groups.**

Mr Nelson Botile, a senior member of the council's management committee, yesterday said the development of the Nancefield site and service scheme was at an advanced stage. The building of houses is expected to be completed by the end of April this year.

Mr Botile said preference would be given to lower income earners who have been on the housing waiting list for many years.

He added that the council would build 602 five-roomed houses on the complex, which would cost "at most" R10 000 to buy or not more than R50 a month to rent.

In Emdeni Extension II 622 will be built.

**R2,5-m**

Mr Botile said the council has also asked the Government for R2,5-million to lay infrastructure in Protea North where 650 upper income houses would be built.

"We'll get the ball rolling as soon as we have received the money. I must make it clear that this is not a loan. The State President, Mr P W Botha, has said that the Government has set aside money for housing development in the urban areas," he said.

More than 20 000 families are on the housing waiting list in Soweto. The list, according to a senior member of the West Rand Development Board (Wradebo), grows at a rate of 2 000 units every year.

/9317

CSO: 3400/918

SOUTH AFRICA

SOWETO CITY COUNCIL TRYING TO EXPEL INDIAN BUSINESSMEN

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 8 Jan 86 p 12

[Article by Sy Makaringe]

[Text]

THE Soweto City Council was trying all means to get Indian businessmen out of the township, Mr Letsatsi Radebe, chairman of the council's management committee, said in an interview yesterday.

Mr Radebe was answering questions whether the council would reconsider its decision of charging "outside" funeral undertakers a R150 burial levy as some of them conducted free burials for unrest victims and for people who lived below the breadline.

Mr Radebe said the council was sick and tired of the "economic domination of Indians".

"They are a minority group and have no moral grounds to interfere with the business of Soweto. By imposing the R150 levy, we are trying to get them out of Soweto.

"A black man is not a commodity . . . he's not a goat. If we need sympathies, black funeral undertakers are there to sympathise with us. We don't need the Indians," he said.

Mr Tony Guinness, public relations officer for City Funerals, said the council charged them R150 for every burial they conducted in Soweto, even if they were free burials.

"We feel bitter about this because we are for the people, most of whom live below the breadline. The council, as a black body, should understand the position of the people even better," Mr Guinness said.

Mr Guinness also added the council wanted City Funerals to pay this R150 even when it buried unrest victims free of charge.

"We would expect the council to sympathise with the families of unrest victims but they do not," he said.

The burial levy for undertakers who came from outside of Soweto was increased by 500 percent — from R30 to R150 — in October last year, while that of the local undertakers remained at R10 per burial.

Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, who runs a surgery opposite the Regina Mundi Church in Rockville, said the peculiar situation that City Funerals find themselves in, must be looked at from a broad South African political perspective, rather than someone encroaching on another's domain.

## **Merit**

**"The Group Areas, Urban Areas Consolidation and Population Registration Acts have played havoc with people's livelihood and harmonious existence — instead of fostering brotherhood. They have had the effect of creating suspicion and hatred," Mr Asvat said.**

**He said the sooner "these despised acts" were removed from the statute books, the better it would be for reconciliation of "our divided country".**

**Mr Muntu Myeza, publicity secretary of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, also said the South African situation must be viewed in a broad perspective.**

**He said while a certain section of the black community enjoyed some advantages, all blacks were oppressed.**

**"We should strive, as black people, to eradicate the oppression totally. We would suggest, as black people, that the ethnicity element be removed and the problem be dealt with on its own merit," Mr Myeza said.**

/9317

CSO: 3400/932



SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT'S RAIDS INTO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES CONDEMNED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 9 Jan 86 p 4

[Commentary: "Sickening"]

[Text]

**WE** FIND The Government's habit of raiding friendly neighbouring states when there are guerilla attacks both unpleasant and unreasonable.

This Machiavellian response is almost similar to Government threats to repatriate foreign workers to the same friendly neighbouring states if sanctions are imposed on South Africa.

Lesotho, Botswana and Zimbabwe are being blamed for matters not of their making. If, as in the case of African National Congress camps, they are indirectly involved, a similar argument can be used against South Africa for its involvement in Namibia, Mozambique and Angola.

The most distasteful argument probably (to the Israelis) that the state media use quite frequently, is that this government is acting in a way that Israel does.

The argument then follows that if Israel can get away with it, why should South Africa be made the whipping boy when she defends her people.

That analogy is at best strained and specious at worst.

Israel is surrounded by countries that have sworn to destroy that Jewish state, for reasons that we leave to themselves.

Israel is thus at war with most of the states that tightly surround her. South Africa is not at war, except in an indirect way in her attempts to get at the ANC and the South West African People's Organisation.

As far as we are aware, Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique and even Angola are not at war with South Africa.

The case for hot pursuits is another kettle of fish which we will not address now.

In any case it becomes particularly difficult to justify hot pursuit if nationals of friendly countries are killed in the crossfire.

In the case of Lesotho, South Africa has strict control of its border gates.

South African towns surrounding Lesotho which do brisk business with Lesotho nationals are becoming ghost towns, the information we have gathered says.

Such retaliatory action against Lesotho is perhaps better than a military pounce on some camps or, as in most cases, homes right inside the country's cities.

But here again it becomes a matter of cutting off one's nose to spite one's face, an action which is a result of frustration and bungle.

If radio and print media propaganda is anything to go by, Botswana seems headed for serious trouble.

It seems almost certain that some action will be taken against that country, or rather the ANC camps in it.

We do not support violence against any South Africans — white or black.

But the revenge tactics that the Government uses are reprehensible. It does not seem morally right, though politically justifiable, that there should be hot pursuit into neighbouring states.

We would perhaps look at the argument with more human understanding if the state media and government spokesmen did not sound so sanctimoniously self-righteous.

Who are they to speak of security when they are a threat to hundreds of foreigners on the borders of this country?

If the allegations made about this government's involvement with Renamo even before the ink dried on the Nkomati Accord are true, then South Africa's case looks even sicker.

The world is aware of this and will justifiably make South Africa the whipping boy should Botswana be attacked.

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CSO: 3400/933

SOUTH AFRICA

CONFUSION REIGNS AS SCHOOLS RESUME SESSIONS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 9 Jan 86 p 4

[Article by Sam Mabe in Focus column]

[Text]

BLACK education was yesterday plunged into confusion, heralding another year of possible confrontation between the Department of Education and Training and the black community.

The date on which the schools were to be re-opened appeared to many observers as one point on which there could be easy agreement between DET and the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee.

Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid, on Monday created this impression when he said he did not see the issue as a serious problem over which there should be confrontation.

He said his doors were open and that he was open to negotiations with anybody who had a vested interest in education.

The failure of DET and the SPCC to reach agreement on the date for the re-opening of schools has created confusion and division among pupils. In some instances there was confrontation between those who went to school and those who want to go on January 28.

**Police**

In Pretoria, East and West Rand, pupils heeded the SPCC's call not to go to school. In the Vaal, many pupils went to school and the police reported that the response in most parts of the Free State was good.

In a memorandum sent to DET on Monday, the SPCC tabled a resolution of the national conference on education held in Johannesburg on December 28 and 29, calling on all students to return to school on January 28.

Reasons given for this date were:

- To give the DET enough time to repair damaged schools; and
- To give enough time to delegates to report the outcome of the conference to their constituencies.

The DET has also been given until the end of March 1986 to meet the following demands:

- The repair of damaged school buildings;
- Recognition of democratically elected students representative councils;
- Unconditional release of detained pupils, parents and teachers;
- Unbanning of Cosas;
- Postponement of examination scheduled for January 14 to March 1986;
- Reinstatement of dismissed, transferred and suspended teachers; and
- Lifting of the state of emergency.

### **Demands**

The national conference decided that if the demands were not met by the end of March, another conference would be convened to consider action.

Other resolutions tabled in the SPCC memorandum were that:

- Statutory parents committees be dissolved;
- Parents refuse to pay school fees;
- Free textbooks and other educational material be provided; and
- The National Parents Crisis Committee, to be constituted this weekend, explore an alternative system of education.

So far DET has addressed only one resolution the re-opening of school. The other resolutions are being studied and will be dealt with in due course.

DET has welcomed the attempt to motivate students to return to school but decided that the schools would be re-opened yesterday or as soon as possible thereafter when parents were in a position to enrol their children".

It also said that it would be flexible on the regulation that pupils register within 10 days of the official opening of school.

### **Reasons**

DET said the reasons for insisting on January 8 as the date for re-opening of schools are:

- A lot of valuable time was lost during 1985;
- Pupils needed enough time to prepare for examinations;

- It wanted to use every day of the available 198 schooling days to cover the syllabus and to maintain the same standards as those of other education departments; and

- Late enrolment of pupils could jeopardise their chances of passing this year.

The re-opening of the schools was the first, and minor, hurdle on the path to normalising black education this year. The other hurdles, set at the education conference last month, are much higher.

For the first time at this conference in December, there was almost unanimity among black community organisations on the way the education crisis needed to be solved.

It seems 1986 will be another year of erratic or no education for the black child.

/9317

CSO: 3400/933

SOUTH AFRICA

NEW TURN IN SCHOOLS CRISIS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 13 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Sy Makaringe]

[Text]

**THE crisis in black education took a turn for the worse when it was reported at the weekend that examinations, postponed last year because of school boycotts, were to be written from today.**

A report in a Sunday paper yesterday said this was reported in The Johannesburg Focus, a newsletter published and issued by the Johannesburg region of the Department of Education and Training, that pupils in Standard 5 will write examinations from today.

According to the report, the newsletter also said secondary school pupils — from Standard 6 to Standard 9 — would sit for the internal examinations from Thursday.

This means that thousands of pupils who stayed away from schools in support of the call by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee to return on January 28 will not be able to write exams unless special arrangements are made.

Efforts to reach Mr Gunther Merbold, director of education in the Johannesburg region

of DET, to confirm the report, proved fruitless yesterday.

Mr Job Schoeman, Public Relations Officer of DET in Pretoria, said yesterday he could not comment as it was an "internal matter".

Mr Muntu Myeza, publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, said while everybody was concerned with finding solutions to the education crisis, DET seemed to be "working towards destroying black education and frustrating efforts to make it work".

"In these times of uncertainty, when pupils do not even know whether they would go to school this year, when does DET think they

found time to study for these exams?" Mr Myeza asked.

He said they would intensify their efforts to find alternative solutions. "The ultimate object will be to render DET and its brand of education redundant and obsolete," he said.

Mr Gomolemo Mokoae, publicity secretary of the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm), said the news showed pure arrogance and gross insensitivity to black feelings.

"We urge black pupils in Soweto and Alexandra to boycott these examinations. In as much as we want education, we are not prepared to have it at the expense of our dignity," he said.

The SPCC could yesterday not be contacted for comment.

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CSO: 3400/932

SOUTH AFRICA

TENSION RISES IN MOUTSE AS INDEPENDENCE LOOMS

Tales of Torture

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 14 Jan 86 p 4

[Article by Themba Molefe in Focus column]

[Text]

**T**WO weeks have passed since the New Year's Day bloodshed in Moutse. Tension is rising as the 120 000-strong community awaits the final knell — the independence of KwaNdebele.

Moutse was incorporated into KwaNdebele on January 1, the day violence broke out between the Pedi and Ndebele. Residents alleged that about 27 people have died since then.

The men of Moteti Village, one of the 16 that comprise Moutse, about 30 km west of Groblersdal, Eastern Transvaal, speak of lost pride.

It was in Moteti, they say, where men were attacked in their sleep, assaulted, bundled into trucks by vigilantes and driven to KwaNdebele's capital, Siyabuswa, where they were further tortured on New Year's Day.

They say they were accused of conspiring to resist incorporation and the homeland's independence.

**Terror**

The sjambok weals on the body of Mr Philemon Tjiane (41), a father of seven, tell a story of terror which he says he was subjected to for two days and nights.

Mr Tjiane says he and his brother Jimmy (13) were taken from his house. Jimmy was buried on Saturday.

They were driven to a community hall in Siyabuswa. They and many other men were then tortured and assaulted on a floor covered with soap and water.

Jimmy Tjiane died in hospital after being released from his "detention".

Mr Tjiane's cousin, Mr Joel Ntlantleng (39), says men were "packed like sardines" in the hall and were made to shout "Mbogodo Siyabuswa

KwaNdebele" while men sjambokked them.

Many Moutse people claim to have suffered at the hands of the KwaNdebele vigilantes.

They include Miss Francinah Lehlomela, who says she was among the few women assaulted. Her face has deep sjambok weals which she says she got when a car she was travelling in was accosted by vigilantes.

Miss Lehlomela and her two children Johanna (8) and Ronnie (4) managed to run away from their attackers.

The car, belonging to her brother Max, is still missing.

The Moutse men's feelings are best summed up by Frans Kotelo who says he has lived in Moteti since World War I started.

"I did not come to Moutse begging for land, neither was I transported here from

another place," Mr Kotelo said.

There is fear and uncertainty as KwaNdebele's independence nears.

The once peaceful rural area now has daily roadblocks manned by the South African Police. The place is a hive of activity as Casspirs patrol the gravel roads.

Villagers say their problems started when about 5 000 Ndebele-speaking people came to Moutse in 1979.

Chief T G Mathebe,

Moutse's headman, gave the Ndebeles land after the South African Government removed them from Doornkop, near Middelburg.

There was peace between the two groups until the Government announced the area would be consolidated.

Moutse villagers face another threat: the South African Government announced two years ago that Moutse had been declared a "white spot" and that the community would be

moved to Saliespoort, about 150 km away in the Northern Transvaal.

This has not yet been done but villagers claim they have received notices to the effect, authorised by the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis.

A drive along the Bronkhorstspuit-Groblersdal road echoes residents' feelings.

The sign-posts bear slogans such as "Azania", "This is our land" and "Bring back our country".

### Shift for Teachers

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 13 Jan 86 p 3

[Article by Sello Rabothata]

[Text]

**THE Department of Education and Training last Thursday reminded teachers in the Moutse district of their transfer to the KwaNdebele Department of Education after the South African Government ceded the area to the KwaNdebele Government.**

Although there is opposition to the incorporation, the DET's message when schools re-opened last week indicates that the Moutse decision is final.

About 20 people died and more than 100 were injured after the announcement on Moutse's future.

### Fear

Parents in the area have threatened to withdraw their children from school if the South African Government gives their land to Chief S S Skhosana of KwaNdebele who has opted for independence.

Sources in Moutse said many teachers were reluctant to sign the DET forms and that some signed because they feared they might not get their salaries at the end of the month.

Several other teachers may resign and leave the area.

Most schools would be forced to employ unqualified teachers.

In the notices, signed by the Director-General of the DET, teachers are also told if they were against the move to

KwaNdebele other posts would be found for them — but they would be responsible for their own accommodation. The transfer is effective from January 1 this year.

Last Thursday the local Lebowa MP, Mr Godfrey Mathebe, and Chief Mathebe consulted with their legal advisers in a bid to get a court interdict against the move.

The two also met the Chief Minister of Lebowa on Friday.

Details of the meetings have not yet been released.

Villagers have been told they are to be moved to Saliespoort/Immerpan, about 150 km from their present land.

In one of the Moutse villages, Moteti, where

the most bitter fight between Ndebele and Pedi men took place, children are not attending school.

They fear an attack from the Ndebele, whose capital, Siyabuswa, is just "across the road" to Pietersburg.

There is a heavy police presence in the district. Roadblocks are manned continuously and hippos patrol the area.

The clerical staff at the local administration offices has also been "sent for training" at Sothangwe. Receipts and stamps at the offices now bear the KwaNdebele letterheads.

Most residents who had to go to the offices on Friday were surprised at this new turn of events.



## Various Personalities' Opinions

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 10-16 Jan 86 p 12

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text]

THE chief's aide leaned forward in his chair and said vehemently: "The apartheid system is working backwards and forwards. It is so confused. It is impossible to understand." Chief Tokwe Mathebe and his councillors nodded in agreement.

They were protesting at the illogicality of Pretoria's decision to cede the predominantly Sotho-speaking region of Moutse to KwaNdebele, the designated "homeland" of the 800 000-strong Nguni-speaking Ndebele people.

The chief's aide, Elias Makitla, leaned even further forward in the simple office which served as the tribal administration centre: "They used to say, 'No people, however small, should be dominated by another.' But now they say we must become part of KwaNdebele."

Earlier in the day, in a far more comfortable office in Siyabuswa, capital of KwaNdebele, Gerrie van der Merwe, South African Commissioner-General to KwaNdebele, declined an invitation to explain why the nearly 120 000 Sotho-speaking people of Moutse had been placed under KwaNdebele rule. "I could answer you if I was still a politician," he said, smiling knowingly. "All I can say now is that it makes administration much easier."

Until the task of consolidating South Africa's "black homelands" was taken over by Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, separate development, or apartheid, used to be justified as a process of — in the words of the former Prime Minister D F Malan — "bringing together those who belong together". Hennie van der Walt, who was previously responsible for homeland consolidation, used to speak of "ethnic consolidation".

A clue to the switch in policy hung on the wall over Vander Merwe's head. It was KwaNdebele's coat of arms. The inscription underneath it read: "Independence — 1986".

KwaNdebele, which lies about 80km north-east of Pretoria, is due to become South Africa's fifth supposedly independent homeland. No date has been set, but the common assumption is that it will be soon, with 1986, as the framed coat of arms indicated, the target date.

One reason for abandoning the slow process of "ethnic consolidation" is the need to give KwaNdebele a credible territorial base as soon as

possible. Hence Moutse, which will substantially increase the size of KwaNdebele, has been added in the teeth of opposition from the majority of Moutse's Sotho-speaking inhabitants.

Officially Moutse ceased to exist on January 1, when it formally became part of KwaNdebele. But its legal incorporation has been marked by bloodshed. At least 16 people have been killed since the New Year, including two black police constables.

A burnt-out van adomed the entrance to Chief Mathebe's kraal at Kwarilaagte. Three of the van's six Ndebele occupants were killed on New Year's Day. Two of their lucky fellow tribesmen escaped. A third is still missing.

Chief Mathebe's powerfully built kinsman, M M Mathebe, charged that the Ndebeles were armed and on a mission to abduct his leader when they were intercepted and killed. But Brigadier Chris van Niekerk, who was present during the earlier interview with Van der Merwe, insisted that the Ndebeles were on a peaceful mission to a monument to one of their tribal heroes when they were attacked and murdered.

Whatever the truth behind that killing, there is no doubt that tempers were still running high in Moutse. The arrival of police reinforcements under Brigadier D J van Wyk was one indicator; Makitla's resignation to the prospect of continuing conflict was another. "We live in a bloody situation," he said. "We are not going to move and we are not going to allow incorporation."

The decision of KwaNdebele to opt for independence has exacerbated tribal opposition from Moutse's Sotho people to rule by Ndebele. They fear they will be deprived of their South African citizenship when KwaNdebele becomes independent.

President P W Botha has pledged either to restore or to protect the South African citizenship of all blacks living in South Africa and, with it, their right to a share in the central government. But when KwaNdebele becomes independent Moutse's inhabitants will be living in KwaNdebele. Their position, and right to South African citizenship, is ambiguous.

Many Sotho-speakers despise the KwaNdebele Chief Minister, Simon Skhosana, because of his limited formal education. They see him as a "puppet" who is manipulated by Pretoria for its own ideological ends.

Makitla referred contemptuously to Skhosana's rudimentary education. "Skhosana only has standard four. He is a blind man. How can he guide people who can see when he is blind?"

The earlier interview at Siyabuswa with Van der Merwe and Brigadier van Niekerk took place in Skhosana's office. He sat behind a large desk, nonchalantly flipping through a book with pictures, content to leave the talking to the white men. He replied to questions when they were directed to him specifically. His responses were short, even monosyllabic.

He became animated only once. It was when he interpreted a question to imply he should negotiate with Moutse's leaders on a government to government basis. His hands flailed dangerously near his nose as he belittled the status of Moutse's leaders. Eventually he knocked his gold-rimmed

spectacles from his nose. It brought the outburst to an end as he grabbed for his glasses. He began to flip desultorily through the book again.

Towards the end of the interview in Skhosana's office, Van der Merwe disclosed, apparently unintentionally, that the new industrial growth point of Ekandustria and its twin black township of Ekangala would become part of KwaNdebele on April 1. Situated only about 40km from Pretoria, Ekangala has been earmarked as the site of a black township the size of Soweto, near Johannesburg.

Soweto is South Africa's largest township. But the ideologues in the corridors of power seem determined that the next black township of that size will fall just inside an "independent homeland". It will mean a million fewer black people to accommodate politically in South Africa.

### Chief Minister Turns 'Vicious'

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 10-16 Jan 86 p 12

[Article by Phillip Van Niekerk]

[Text]

A NEW and vicious authoritarianism appears to have taken hold in the overcrowded, poverty-stricken homeland of KwaNdebele which is to take its "independence" from Pretoria this year.

"Independence" for KwaNdebele — an entity created through massive resettlement of blacks from cities, farms and the movement of Ndebeles from other homelands — is a dubious concept in itself.

But the alleged behaviour of KwaNdebele vigilantes, the notorious *Imbolotho*, in Moutse on New Year's Day has provided scant comfort that the men appointed by Pretoria to rule KwaNdebele will create a beacon of peace and democracy.

The incorporation of the 120 000-strong Moutse and the "independence" of KwaNdebele is seen as proof that, regardless of its reform promises, Pretoria is not deviating from the homelands policy, the cornerstone of grand apartheid.

Even after the fighting at the New Year — which left an estimated 22 dead and which came after a decade of warnings that incorporation would lead to bloodshed — Constitutional Development and Planning Minister, Chris Heunis, stuck to his guns and insisted that incorporation was in the "best interests of all concerned".

Commented Joanne Yawitch, of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac): "Unless the government reverses its decision to incorporate Moutse into KwaNdebele, it could turn Moutse into a battleground more bloody than any urban township in South Africa."

According to eye-witness reports, fighting in Moutse started with an "invasion" by KwaNdebele government vigilantes in the early hours of the morning on New Year's Day, when some 261 men from the district were abducted from their homes.

They were taken to the KwaNdebele capital, Siyabusa, where they were flogged and made to lie naked in soapy, and increasingly bloodied, water while vigilantes kicked and beat them. Two men reportedly died.

In sworn affidavits, a number of the men who were beaten have claimed that the Chief Minister and soon-to-be Prime Minister, Simon Skhosana, and his Minister of Interior, Piet Ntuli, oversaw and participated in the floggings.

Asked to comment on allegations that he was involved, Skhosana said: "That is a secret of government," and slammed the telephone down.

Later, in a carefully prepared statement, Skhosana said it was a "gross deviation from the truth" to say KwaNdebele was forcing residents of Moutse "to be subject to the authority of the KwaNdebele government."

"The impression being created, among others by the Black Sash, that Ndebeles are instigators, is devoid of all truth and can rather be subscribed to revolutionary elements who represent only a small minority in Moutse."

He said about 80 percent of Moutse residents were satisfied with being incorporated into KwaNdebele.

But one young man who was kidnapped from his home on New Year's Day — and who is scared of being named — described how he was beaten with a hammer before being carted with others in a truck to the Siyabusa Community Hall where they were addressed by Skhosana.

"Mr Skhosana was standing next to a strongman at the door of the hall. Skhosana had a whip in his hand and as we were marched in he asked us where we were from. Those from Johannesburg — whom he considered to be outsiders and troublemakers — he flogged heavily.

"After we were all in the hall, the door was shut and Skhosana addressed us. He said he was not fighting us, provided we accepted his rule. He said we must fight the whites, not each other.

"After he left we were asked to strip naked, a hosepipe was put through the window and soap powder sprinkled on the floor.

"Then Skhosana put his head through the window and said we must put underpants on in case the children see us naked.

"We were made to lie down in the water while the vigilantes flogged and kicked us so that we slipped around the floor, unable to hold onto anything. We were made to do physical jerks while the vigilantes hurled insults at us.

"When we were released, we were given petrol bombs and told to use them against our chiefs and leaders."

The Moutse invasion was just the latest occasion in which the vigilantes were set loose on the population of KwaNdebele and the surrounding areas. People from Ekangala, also due to be

incorporated into KwaNdebele, are reported to be fleeing the area for fear of being beaten up.

The one by-product of Pretoria's insistence on incorporation is the development of militant youth organisations.

Militant youths from Moutse say the incorporation and independence — in which several hundred thousand people will be deprived of their South African citizenship — is like changing from a "stick to a scorpion".

They say, however, they are attempting to politicise people into seeing that it is not just Skhosana, but the central government in Pretoria, who is responsible for the poverty and repression.

KwaNdebele is the last and probably the poorest of the 10 homelands, a vast rural squatter slum where the population has tripled since 1975. In 1980 there were 1,5 people per hectare. By 1984, the ratio had climbed to almost three per hectare.

People have been forced off white farms in the surrounding area and Ndebele-speakers have been squeezed out of other black homelands in terms of Pretoria's ideology of ethnic separation.

In its summary on KwaNdebele, the Surplus People's Project says: "KwaNdebele is a rural ghetto where the unemployed and old are forced to live in dire poverty. For those who manage to find work, life is lived in factories and in buses with little respite from either."

It is this entity that Simon Skhosana and his cohorts will be leading into "independence" this year — whether the local population likes it or not.

SOUTH AFRICA

REPORTER'S VISIT TO AFRICA INTENSIFIES DESIRE FOR FREEDOM

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 6 Jan 86 p 8

[Article by Aggrey Klaaste]

[Text]

I **TOUGHT** to haul my behind off this chair more often and get out. I have been chained to the desk for so long that I tend to write — in what one newspaper proprietor said churlishly — from inside the proverbial ivory tower.

I spent less than 30 minutes talking to Dr Nthato Motlana and our man Sam Mabe in Dube just the other day. This was on my rare occasions away from the salt mines. They spoke about their travels in Africa. I was charmed. I was bouyed up, delighted and walked with more assurance, more confidence and a touch of dignity in my blackness. I don't wish you to consider that "blackness" as anything like a pun.

In fact I am writing this piece in excited speed so, should it come off rather giddy and even disjointed, you will have to bear with me.

Dr Motlana had just been to Senegal and touched through various African airports. Sam Mabe has been to Harare a number of times, and has visited Nairobi. They were both charmed by the experience, for suddenly to be black became so natural, so effortlessly defined physically and mentally that the experience seems enviable to me. I have never been in any of our north, west or east African states, except to pass through Nairobi.

In his arresting way Dr Motlana described how deeply touched he was when he travelled in a plane that was manned entirely by blacks, from the captain to the lovely stewardess. For the first time in his long life he entered a massive airport where every worker and most of the people were black. And he was not speaking of something like the airport in the Cis-

kei. This was the real thing. He felt big. Also humbled by the experience.

Most certainly Africa is no paradise. At least Africa circa 1986. It has all the problems so gleefully written and spoken about by South African and western media. It has death and starvation. It has coups and massive corruption. It has slums and poverty.

But it has a feeling of belonging to its people. A feeling that sadly is alien to black South Africans. And to think that South Africa is the southern tip of this terrible, this beautiful, this perplexing continent.

What impressed me most was the enormous feeling of discovery the two men described. I have been reading so much about the chaos in Africa that I often felt we in the south were living quite well despite our oppression. I am be-

ginning to change my mind.

Dr Motlana should have been a writer. He has the knack for description, the vivid articulation of smell, sound and scene. He puts it mighty well.

The trouble with South African blacks, and perhaps those West Indians in Britain, is that we have become overly dependent on working for the white man. Working for a salary. In Sotho the phrase "O jele mosebetsi" means a whole range of pejorative things. It means not only that you have lost your job, but that you have lost out in life, that you are a failure. That you have been clobbered, in short. In the meantime, in reality it means you have lost the unenviable task of waking up every damned morning to work for a darned salary that hardly pays the rent.

## Racy

What I am coming round to saying is that Africans outside of South Africa have lost those "mosebetsi" chains. Let Dr Motlana tell it his own racy way.

There is an informal sector in most African states that has to be seen to be believed. In Senegal he saw three boys. Two of them were working on some colourful pieces of yarn, passed these to another young man intense in his concentration, producing. Weaving, knitting cloth straight out of the Nights of Arabia. Three young boys.

He enters another backyard. Two boys sitting over a little machinery. He buys the rings made by these extraordinary youths. Pure gold, pure magic.

He moves on. The place is a beehive of activity as far as the eye can see. Here are four to five men. There is a piece of virgin wood starting off through the hands of

the first man. The wood goes along the production line to the next man who does his bit of wizardry on it. Dr Motlana watches fascinated. At the end of the line is a beautiful piece of sculpted mask. Something that will cost you a fortune in western capitals.

I am not too well versed in Marxism. But I believe this is what production in the hands of the people means in the idealistic socialist sense. The feeling of working with love, with dedication. The sense of creativity that makes you sink back in your bed with a sense of accomplishment.

A strange thing is beginning to happen here at home, Dr Motlana tells us. The recession, the retrenchments do have a silver lining attached to them. Dr Motlana tells of the number of people out of work who are enterprising enough to go into their own business. There was this old man. Worked for a cement factory for many years.

Was retired. He then buys himself an old dilapidated truck and works on it. Goes into stock business and hits the jackpot. Today our man runs his small fleet of trucks. He has stopped working for a salary. He is utilising the talents that have been stunted, cowed, almost buried while working "for the white man". In Africa Dr Motlana says, that kind of thing is par for the course.

Naturally the fat cats, a throw-back to the days of colonialism, the class that Sam Mabe calls the "Wabenzi" still drive around in gleaming cars. They still accept the bribes. They still lead their country's national economy down the drain.

But the people, the people work for themselves. They cheerfully wake up each blessed day, bow to the East or whatever and use those two hands given to them by Providence to build, to create.

These vignettes from the good doctor and my friend Sam

made me feel intensely good. I wish you feel the same after reading this.

In Harare, says Sam, not a single patch of ground lies untilled. They plant vegetables on every single square metre of virgin land, smack in the city. They are the sons and daughters of the soil, if you please.

He would not settle anywhere else but in Africa says Sam. Dr Motlana sounds a caution. There are slums, there is poverty. There is a great deal of suffering.

They continue this celebration to *uhuru*, to freedom. There are airports in Africa that make Jan Smuts look like a concession store in the highveld.

Freedom is something that is fought for. May not be paradise. But rather it is this extraordinary release in doing with your own hands something for yourself. And loving every minute. That is freedom.

I guess that is what every black South African is fighting for.

/9317

CSO: 3400/913



SOUTH AFRICA

BOYCOTT GROUP WARNS YOUTHS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 14 Jan 86 p 7

[Text]

**THE Krugersdorp Consumer Boycott Committee has warned it will act against youths who attack delivery vehicles in the township.**

A committee spokesman said it was not their policy to engage in such activities.

"We warn these people — we do not know where they come from — that disciplinary action will be taken against them," the spokesman said.

Meanwhile, the spokesman said the consumer boycott and the Greyhound bus boycott were continuing.

**Demands**

The consumer boycott started on December 9 and the bus boy-

cott entered its second week yesterday.

The committee's demands are:

- Mr Isaac Genu, chairman of the Kagiso Residents' Organisation be released from detention;
- Mrs Winnie Mandela be allowed to stay in her Soweto house;
- The Government unban the Congress of South African Students;
- Greyhound Bus Company provide free service for all unrest related funerals;
- Pensioners be provided with two buses on payout days;
- Greyhound plough back some of its profits

into the community;

- Schoolchildren be provided with free transport; and

- The bus company stop objecting to applications of black taxi owners when they apply for licenses.

Mr Robert Nesbitt, the manager of Greyhound Bus Lines, which serve townships on the West Rand, has appealed to the organisers of the bus boycott to hold talks with him to resolve the matter.

Mr Nesbitt said he was disturbed by the allegations against his company.

Buses are also being boycotted in Mokoleng, Randfontein.

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SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT TO CREATE JOBS FOR BLACKS IN EAST, WEST RAND

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 14 Jan 86 p 7

[Article by Sy Makaringe]

[Text]

**BLACK local authorities on the East and West Rand will receive a total of R24,6-million from the Government to create jobs for many unemployed people in their areas.**

During May last year the Government made available R4-million to various local authorities on the Witwatersrand to provide jobs for residents who were unemployed because of the recession.

A regional spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning this week said 60 percent of the R24,6-million granted to black local authori-

ties on the Witwatersrand would be spent on wages.

Workers are being paid R4 a day and supervisors R8.

The spokesman could not say how the money would be distributed among the 14 black local authorities on the West and East Rand.

The projects to provide jobs include the renovation and upgrading of hostels, provision of site and service schemes, removal of rubbish, upgrading of parks and playgrounds, cleaning and renovation of buildings and upgrading of all sportsfields.

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CSO: 3400/913

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY ON BAD YEAR FOR UNIONISTS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 10 Jan 86 p 6

[Article by Joshua Raboroko in Focus column]

[Text]

Since the state of emergency was declared last July, trade unions have made claims of police harassment and death threats to their leaders.

And at least 10 trade unionists spent Christmas Day in detention.

Miss Mapule Makwela, a trade unionist employed as a typist by the African Allied Workers Union (AAWU), who was released from detention this week told of the miserable time she spent in jail. She said:

"I missed township life in the cells. I missed my family and friends. It was boring and frustrating. I felt worse because I knew I had done nothing to deserve this. None of my family and friends came to see me. Only my mother was allowed to visit me.

"I was mainly lonely because I wanted to do some work for the exploited and oppressed people. My detention has not dampened by

spirit to work for the liberation of the masses," she said.

### **Perturbed**

She was perturbed that her general secretary, Mr Cunningham Nqunkana, who was detained with her, was still in detention.

"I will not forget the day the police came to our office, searched and confiscated union documents. We were taken to Protea and later to Diepkloof prison. It was a nasty experience".

Her mother, Mrs Elizabeth Makwela said: "No mother can enjoy any occasion without one child. Mapule's absence at home worried us as we did not know when she would be released.

"During the time she was in jail we prayed to God that she be released. We held prayers every night. We were happy to see her in the New Year," she said.

Mrs Catherine Nqunkana, whose son Cunningham was detained in September, said: "I pray for the release of my son and other detainees in this country.

"We enjoyed every Christmas together praying to God to help us in the New Year. I hope he will be released one day.

Those who are still in detention are: Mr Mahlomola Skhosana, assistant general secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa); Mr Elijah Masinga of the South African Allied

Workers Union (Saawu); Mr Cunningham Nqucukana, general secretary of AAWU and executive member of the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu); Mr Sam Ntuli, Mr Paul Maseko, and Mr Ezekial Kubheka, all of the United Mining Metal and Allied Workers Union (Umma-wusa); Mr Schole Neer, Mr Samson Mtombeni and Mr Mdulela Mali of Motor Assemblies, Components and Allied Workers Union (Mac-wusa). Mr Samson Masondo of the General and Allied Workers Union (Gawusa) and Ms Thembi Bango of Food Canning Workers Union (FCWU).

More than 20 trade unionists were detained under emergency regulations since July, but most have been released. Among them were, Mr Piroshaw Camay, the general secretary of Cusa and Mr Chris Dlamini second vice-president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Four — Mr Sam Kikine Mr Sisa Njikelana, Mr Isaac Ngcobo and Mr Thozamile Gqwe-

tha, all of Saawu — are to face charges of treason in the Maritzburg Supreme Court.

### **Passports**

The following trade unionists were refused passports in 1985: Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe of the Black Mining Construction and Allied Workers Union (Bamcwu), Mr Joe Thloloe of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, Mr Moses Mayekiso of the Metal and Allied Workers Union; Mr Phillip Dladla of Mawu, Mr Thembinkosi Mkhali of the Chemical Industrial Workers Union, Mr Mfikisi Seneke of the National Union of Textile Workers, Mr Nqucukana of AAWU and Mr Phillip Dlamini of the SA Black Municipal Workers Union.

No reasons were given for the refusals.

Mr Dlamini of Cosatu and Mr James Mndaweni, president of Cusa, who both live in Springs, have received death threats from unknown callers. Their homes have been searched during what police described as a "routine check-up."

The detention of trade unionists, alleged harassment and arrests, have raised concern both here and internationally.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) accused South Africa of creating an impression of normal labour relations while it uses security and other non-labour legislation to harass trade unions and their members. It has cited a number of laws under which trade unionists have been detained in South Africa.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has added its voice of protest against the detention of trade unionists. It called on the South African Government to release all political detainees and prisoners.

While the unionists are in detention thousands of workers will be back at the factory floors after the festive season.

Workers will return to face an even gloomier economy, more retrenchments in the air, and rising labour tension.

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CSO: 3400/933

SOUTH AFRICA

DEBT-RIDDEN TOWN COUNCILS CUTTING RENTERS' ELECTRICITY SUPPLY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 17 Jan 86 p 9

[Article by Rich Mkhondo]

[Text]

In a bid to force rent defaulters to pay their bills, some of which have been overdue for almost 18 months, many town councils are cutting residents' electricity supplies.

Most councils are now debt-ridden and can no longer afford to provide other services such as refuse removal and maintenance of the township.

The Lekoa Town Council, which controls several townships in the Vaal Triangle, was the first to introduce such measures.

After consultations with the Sharpeville Civic Association, town clerk Mr Ben Scott promised that if residents could show "an intention" to pay their dues, the council would restore their supplies.

By the end of last year, the council was more than R13 million in debt.

It is believed that the councils of Katlehong (Germiston), Tembisa (Kempton Park), Mamelodi and Atteridgeville (Pretoria), kwaThema (Springs), Vosloorus (Boksburg), Tokoza (Alberton), Mohlakeng (Randfontein), Kagiso (Krugersdorp), Tumahole (Parys), Thabong (Welkom), councils in the Eastern and Western Cape and others in the Free State, will soon introduce the measures.

When unrest started 18 months ago, residents of most townships in the urban areas stopped paying rent and service charges in a bid to force the authorities to accede to their demands.

Among other things, residents demanded that rents should be lowered to a level which most people could afford and that all councillors should resign.

UNHYGIENIC CONDITIONS

In the Vaal Triangle, attempts to force residents to pay their rent started last year when the local town council issued stop orders to employers of every house owner and demanded that rent dues be deducted monthly and sent straight to the council.

The method was successfully challenged by residents and an out-of-court settlement was reached.

Late last year, draft legislation aimed at closing the legal loophole was leaked to the Press. The measure will be introduced in Parliament this year.

Two weeks ago, the Lekoa council introduced deliberate and arbitrary electricity cuts in a bid to force residents to pay their overdue rent bills.

The move has cost a Sebokeng businessman, Mr Baker Nhleko thousands of rands. On Wednesday, he watched his shop go up in flames after electricity which had been cut off by the council was turned on at night and large frying pans burst into flames.

The president of the Vaal Chamber of Commerce, Mr M Mashinini, called on the town council to call a public meeting so that the rent, water and electricity issue could be ironed out.

He said: "People are not refusing to pay their rent, but they are awaiting word from the town council about their demands".

Residents of most townships also accused the local authorities of being insensitive about township conditions but being quick to increase rents or forcing residents to pay rents.

A Katlehong coal merchant, Mr John Binda, said the council was forcing people to pay rent while uncollected refuse caused an intolerable stench and attracted flies.

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CSO: 3400/918

SOUTH AFRICA

## NATION'S LAWS ON UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES SEEN AS MOST SUCCESSFUL

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 8 Jan 86 p 8

[Text]

**SOUTH Africa's laws on unfair labour practices are proving to be among the most successful in the world and hold great promise for labour relations in the future.**

Mr Tony Cadman, a regional manager of management consultants, FSA, Natal, said while this was the situation, medium and small firms tended to be ignorant of the laws and were running the risk of being regularly taken to the industrial court (IC).

He said as black trade unions grew stronger, more ended up in court.

He added that many small managements did not realise they could not simply dismiss an employee without valid reasons. It was surprising to find that small employers were still "dismissing workers for invalid reasons", for example dismissing a worker after a personality clash.

### **Political**

In contrast, the larger firms have made a careful study of the laws and tended to apply them impartially. Medium and small firms were not so careful in their application of the laws.

He said black trade unions were rapidly becoming aware of political issues. This was worrying businessmen.

Mr Cadman said South Africa still experiences relatively short strikes (the average being about two days), and many large firms have obtained co-operation in their retrenchment of thousands of employees in Natal.

### **Retrench**

This was so because most of the big companies had tried to stick to the law. Most of them

negotiated the retrenchments with the respective unions.

He said one positive aspect of this was the fact that trade union leadership in South Africa had to retain the interests of members uppermost in mind. In general their leaders were not being sponsored, as in some British unions, by overseas sources.

He said that in order to assist firms in understanding the unfair labour laws, his company had produced two volumes of books as a guide to business to avoid the use of complicated legal language.

The *Guide to Unfair Labour Practices*, updated every two months with the latest court decisions and commentary on them, will be presented at a series of seminars starting in Durban on January 27.

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CSO: 3400/918

SOUTH AFRICA

STUDY OF POLICE REACTION TO STONE THROWING MOBS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 18 Jan 86 p 6

[Article by Aggrey Klaaste]

[Text]

I learn from those chaps who have crossed the path of the law that the South African Police seem obsessed with what they call "klipgooiers" (stone-throwers). The obsession becomes evident from police reports about the unrest.

Professionally I have to check most of the newsbulletins from the Directorate of the Police in Pretoria, about the country's unrest. Something here sticks out like a sore thumb. With almost unfailing regularity the reports carry the stock phrase: "a police vehicle was stoned". That is given, I would imagine, as the justification for some pretty hairy deeds by certain members of the force.

Now, I don't mix too much with the radical element that gets involved in such confrontation with security officers. To my shame too, I have to confess that I hardly ever attend political func-

tionals or meetings. So, my information about what happens when the police appear on such events is at the best secondhand.

But my antennae have become sensitized to this ridiculous phrase. I can lay down my neck or even my passing reputation to the fact that I have seldom seen anybody brave or foolhardy enough to take up an armed police vehicle with stones.

Blacks are a fairly Christian or rather religious people. And yet I don't think many of us are carried away by the biblical lesson in the David versus Goliath lesson. Too damned risky when you have to confront with stones a vehicle that most clearly bristles with armed men.

### **Theory**

My theory is the police have a fixation about stone throwing. It seems even in the event that a car back-

fires, your average cop will believe those crazy blacks are at it again, throwing stones. I am not saying there are no "klipgooiers" in the townships. Heaven knows I have seen what is called a "target" in the racy township argot, under attack. The various vehicles that ferry food and other consumer products into the townships, the Putco buses and even private cars sometimes have to speed away in desperation when the stones rain on them. But with the police, I beg to express an entirely different view.

The people at the Directorate who write these news reports should try and change the script, if only to break the monotony. No doubt these reports are based on what they believe is fact from their sources at the front. But the daily reports about "a police vehicle was stoned" in Aliwal North, in Sebo-

keng, in Mohlakeng", begins to sound just too pat.

There are several dangers with this facile reportage. In the first place the view is given that blacks have become so unafraid of the police that they are forever throwing stones at them. This is rubbish. You don't need commonsense to keep a healthy distance from any police vehicle. Not only are the guys in those vehicles armed but they are trained to do any number of robust things to you, if you are up to mischief. You must be either mad or fiercely angry (this sometimes happens) to take such a silly chance.

Then again, the story is repeated so often that everybody is starting to believe it. The police themselves must by now be solidly convinced that there is a crazy bunch of blacks out there in the townships just itching to hurl stones at them.



## **Police**

Whites and others who do not live in the townships must also be convinced that there are people who seem to have heaps of stones handy available everytime the police drive past. They must now be sure that every unrest situation is started by such irrational behaviour.

It is a lot of bull, believe me.

Most certainly the only weapon, barring your stray petrol bomb or whatever, that those who are so foolhardy to take on the might of the police have, are stones. Most certainly after and sometimes during some pretty hectic sessions, the people do resort to throwing stones. My quarrel is with the frequent reports that seem to suggest there are ubiquitous stone hurlers, from the Cape to the East Rand simply itching to hurl the missiles at passing police vehicles.

You must also remember that not only the police patrol township streets these days. there are mean-looking vehicles called Casspirs or Buffels that simply look invincible. To throw a stone at such a vehicle would be the height of madness.

Talking about the various roadblocks reminds me of this remarkable young soldier outside Soweto the other day. We were stopped at the grim-looking "soldier block" which looks like something out of Belfast. This very clean looking but tough soldier (I don't know if these guys are soldiers or police, or both), but this very healthy young man came to the window of the car. He asked in the most courteous manner if we had any firearms in our possession! I was tempted to say: Yes sir, just a few AKs or whatever, and watch the reaction on his face. I am not mad. Instead I chuckled

softly as our driver said most vehemently that we had never seen a firearm in our lives.

The ritual at roadblocks is becoming so normal that we yawn everytime we are stopped. It happens daily and I was tickled pink by an article from the pen of a white journalist at the end of 1985. It seems he had blundered onto a roadblock. I was surprised to learn they have them in white areas.

The journalist then wrote column upon column about this extraordinary experience. He could have written a book if he stayed anywhere near where I live. He would write more than one book if he had to experience the meetings that we blacks have to endure with the police or the army almost every other day of our lives.

If you do not believe what I have been saying about those reports from the police direc-

torate, get hold of any newspaper lying near you. I mean right now. Check the reports on the unrest and get the punchline from those august people in Pretoria.

I will give a random example. Thus: "Following is the SAP 8 am. 'Unrest report' received at 8.30 am. In the black township near Aliwal North, a mob stoned a police vehicle. A member of the police and one of the SADF were slightly injured. Tear-smoke and shotgun fire were used to disperse the crowd. Eight black men were arrested. No other injuries were reported.

At Walmer near Port Elizabeth, a mob of blacks stoned a police vehicle. Police used rubber bullets to disperse the crowd and a woman was fatally wounded".

And so it goes, till you must think to yourself black people are a crazy bunch of stone-throwers.

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CSO: 3400/918

SOUTH AFRICA

BEKKESDAL IN WEST RAND UNSCATHED BY UNREST

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 8 Jan 86 p 12

[Article by Nat Diseko]

[Text]

**TUCKED** away in a little corner of the West Rand is Bekkersdal, a haven of peace and tranquility that has so far been unscathed by unrest.

This week, we paid a lightning visit to the place to find out what made it tick and found the residents of this little settlement anxiously listening to the rumblings of discontent in this close-knit community.

It was late afternoon when we arrived. The word was out — all parents in the township were to attend a big indaba called by the youths at the local community hall.

That morning, a bus boycott had been called by the youths and many nonplussed commuters were ordered off buses. In the late afternoon, a big body of youths started marching up and down the streets singing and chanting slogans.

The police kept a wary eye on the proceedings but kept their distance. It all had the effect of making the adrenalin pump faster.

**Improve**

Our task was not made any easier by the goings on. In many instances, it just became impossible to conduct random interviews. Although the people here strike one as friendly, suspicion was all-pervasive. Were we of lesser fibre, we would have given it up as a bad job.

Not surprisingly, our spirits suddenly shot up to a high when pretty and articulate Miss Tshepo Modisane (18), whom we bumped into, agreed to give us the lowdown about Bekkersdal.

She said that last year, being the Year of the Youth, she and some friends decided to form a youth group to help needy youngsters

with their education, and generally to find ways and means to improve Bekkersdal. The group is appropriately called the Succourers.

### **Problems**

"We also organised activities to keep the little children off the streets after a number of them had been knocked down by cars. We are also worried about the many teenagers who have turned to heavy drinking because of boredom and frustration. Our aim is to put our township on the map," she said.

Two major problems, which beset Bekkersdal are unemployment and lack of proper housing together with their im-

pact on the social fabric of the community. In the open veld outside the township, make-shift tin shacks have mushroomed and stretch almost as far as the eye can see.

There are just not enough houses for the burgeoning populace, some of whom come from outlying farming districts looking for work on the gold mines where most of Bekkersdal's people work.

We later came across one of the stalwarts of the township's civic affairs, Mr Daniel "Bra" Sedumedi (77), one of Bekkersdal's founding fathers. It is not for nothing that he proudly calls himself "a man of the people".

He told of the township's early days and of

his running battles with the authorities for the rights of the people of Bekkersdal. He has outlived all five other members of the first advisory board and wears his years well.

"I remember how I fought and won against the permit system that was used to persecute residents here. Can you imagine being woken at 2am to be asked to produce a permit? Ordinary people were subjected to these raids, but we advisory board members were treated preferentially. This was what made it even more galling," Mr Sedumedi said.

He is also proud that he managed to persuade the authorities to build an additional 162 houses in the early 70s to ease the housing shortage.

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CSO: 3400/932

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

GAZANKULU UNEMPLOYMENT TO DECREASE--Unemployment in Gazankulu, in the Northern Transvaal, is expected to be reduced considerably this year as a result of the South African Government making available R7 803 470 for an employment creation programme and for self-built housing schemes. About 700 job creation projects have been identified and will be financed with about R7,5 million from the South African Government and R850 000 from the national state itself. The projects, which were identified mainly by local communities and approved by the Gazankulu Government, include the construction of classrooms, health visiting points and sanitation facilities, veld rehabilitation, clearing of roads, brickmaking, the provision of sports facilities and the building of dams. In a statement released by the Department of the Chief Minister and Economic Affairs in Giyani, the Gazankulu Government commended the Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation, churches and other organisations for the role they had played, and continued to play, in creating employment opportunities within Gazankulu with State financial assistance. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 17 Jan 86 p 5] /9317

CSO: 3400/932

SOUTH AFRICA

POLITICAL SCIENTIST SAYS TIME IS RIPE FOR NEGOTIATION

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 5 Jan 86 p 14

[Article by Johan Degennar, Professor of Political Philosophy at Stellenbosch]

[Text]

IN the Gospel according to Thomas, we read: "If you bring forth what is within you, what you bring forth will save you. If you do not bring forth what is within you, what you do not bring forth will destroy you."

The psychological depth of this statement is not difficult to grasp — but what we need in South Africa today is the application of this insight.

Let us start with the situation in 1985. The violence inherent in our society was unleashed, and all saw that we are indeed the violent society that political philosophers always judged us to be.

Events during 1985 emphasised the importance of the 1976 uprisings, when black youths claimed a say for blacks in decision-making processes. These events also revealed the restless mood of blacks and set the tone for politics in the years ahead.

People often ask: why did we experience this intensive and widespread aggressiveness during 1985, when President Botha was busy introducing substantial reforms with regard to the Immorality Act, Mixed Marriages Act, freehold rights to blacks and influx control? And why will this aggressiveness continue even when the Group Areas Act is repealed?

If we limit our view to 1985, it will be difficult to answer these questions. But if we look at our history, the answers come more easily.

There are crucial events in our past when basic mistakes were made because opportunities to accept blacks as South African citizens were misused to entrench the position of the whites.

## Fatal

I focus on three constitutionally important events: the formation of Union in 1910, obtaining Republican status in 1961 and the introduction of the New Constitution in 1984. These are all hallmarks of black exclusion.

The introduction of the New Constitution was not only a mistake, it was a fatal mistake, for it excluded blacks at a decisive stage of our history, when we should have realised we had a second chance to right the wrongs of the past.

The role of *verligtes* in this disastrous affair, which remains an irrevocable insult to blacks, is now part of our unhappy history. We are busy paying a heavy price for the wrong decision made in 1910, which was so confidently reaffirmed in 1983.

The tragic contradiction of reform-minded *verligtes* has now become the legacy of a *verligte* PW. This tragic contradiction is confirmed by the fact that genuine reforms are made, but are not acknowledged as such.

## Counter-productive

It is extremely tragic for a country when right is perceived as wrong. But it is inevitable, for the framework in which the reforms are introduced by the President is unacceptable for those to whom it applies. I refer to the framework of white hegemony, within which the rulers decide unilaterally on concessions they are willing to grant to blacks.

Even a reformist move in 1986 to co-opt blacks into a white-dominated system will be rejected. We have arrived at a stage in our history when reform has become counter-productive. Let us

at least realise this in 1986. Blacks will not accept a reform process in which they have no participation.

We are in for a difficult time. It is true that revolution is not around the corner, but it is equally true that blacks are not going to accept piecemeal engineering of reform-minded whites.

They want to be accepted as citizens in a democratic society, and for this they are willing to sacrifice their lives.

## Negotiation

The way out of this impasse is negotiation — real negotiation — not sham negotiation. Formulated in extreme terms: what we need in South Africa is not reform but negotiation. Only reform which is the product of negotiation will be acceptable to blacks.

There are various groups which have a stake in the power struggle. The role of Buthelezi, for example, should not be underestimated. But I concentrate only on two of the main powers involved. These are the whites, as represented by the Government, and the blacks, as represented by the African National Congress.

The mistakes made by these two partners are easy to identify.

On the side of the whites: the continual constitutional rejection of blacks and the use of structural violence inherent in the apartheid system.

On the side of the blacks: the introduction of physical

violence in strategy and involvement in the crippling of our economy through boycotts and disinvestment, which lead to unemployment, frustration and polarisation.

If we choose polarisation rather than negotiation, we will move inevitably into a Lebanon and Northern Ireland situation of violence and counter-violence, based on the principles of revenge and counter-revenge.

Events in the recent past suggest we are gradually moving into a spiral of violence which is too ghastly to contemplate. All the unnecessary killings are sowing the seeds of hatred.

How sad that a black leader has to proclaim on December 16, in reference to the violence caused by the proposed incorporation of the Moutse district into the KwaNdebele homeland: "The Afrikaner does not understand any language but the language of violence."

## Traumatic

Let us not think that bargaining for a just constitution will be an easy process. It will be most difficult for all concerned, and especially traumatic for the whites, who will have to accept that the blacks constitute a majority in a democratic South Africa.

The bargaining process will be difficult, because black and white do not operate in a vacuum. They are actors in history, and history is claiming its due.

Laurens van der Post would call our historical situation "the raw material of our salvation". This is a powerful, positive call to reconciliation. It is a liberating idea, but then there should at least be signs of our willingness to be saved and to take responsibility for a shared future.

Structural and physical violence in the country, continuing political crises, economic depression and international sanctions against South Africa can contribute to a historical consciousness among South Africans. It is to the advantage of all citizens if we realise South Africa is not merely a geographical unit, but first and foremost a historical reality.

This insight should influence participants to realise what the unfinished business of our history is and to tackle that problem even before we contemplate reform.

The psychological and historical dimensions of our lives are intertwined. No man is an island. The issue is clear. The choice concerns the life and death of a nation and a country. This choice is in our hands.

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CSO: 3400/927



SOUTH AFRICA

SAIRR REPORTS ON 16 MONTHS OF VIOLENCE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 15 Jan 86 p 13

Text]

THE death toll in political violence since September 1984 reached 1 028 by the end of last year — a period of 16 months — according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

In a statement released in Johannesburg yesterday the institute said 879 died last year — an average of 2,41 a day.

"The institute's latest statistical analysis confirms that there was a drastic decline in the daily fatality rate in Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage and on the East Rand after the emergency was declared there on July 21.

"However, the daily fatality rate in the Western Cape increased substantially after the emergency came into effect there on October 26."

The Cape Province accounted for 52 percent of all fatalities last year and the Transvaal for 32 percent. Natal was third, with 13 percent.

The institute said "the proportion of deaths accounted for by security forces" had dropped from

55 percent to 47 since the first emergency declaration, "while the proportion accounted for by residents who killed other residents" had risen from 28 percent to 33 percent.

The institute's analysis "also revealed a sharp increase in fatalities in Soweto after the emergency was declared.

"In the pre-emergency period there were nine deaths in Soweto, but 48 people were killed after it was declared.

"In East London/Queenstown and Pretoria — which were not under emergency regulations — there had also been a sharp increase in fatalities in the second half of the year.

"Measured by fatalities countrywide, August, which claimed 163 lives, was the worst month, the institute said. In July, 96 people died, while the December figure was 92."

The institute said that its figures excluded the fatalities in Umbumbulu, Natal, on Christmas Day as they did not appear to have arisen during political protest. — Sapa.

/9317  
CSO: 3400/901

SOUTH AFRICA

HEUNIS CALLS ON WHITES TO MAKE SACRIFICES

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Jan 86 p 8

[Article by Brian Stuart]

[Text]

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, has warned Whites that they will have to make sacrifices in the interests of political and social justice for all in South Africa.

Addressing a Youth Leadership group at Franschhoek yesterday, Mr Heunis said it was only human that mistakes had been made in the past and that the protection of one group had led to inequalities and discrimination.

However, there was no point in apportioning blame, nor should South Africa's problems be considered insurmountable.

South Africa was a country with a variety of population groups, cultures and levels of development with clashing ideals and aspirations.

These had to be reconciled in order to promote the general interest.

"Thus, the First World component in South Africa will have to be prepared to give up some of its rights and vested interests and to make sacrifices for the sake of greater political and social justice.

"The Third World component on its part will have to scale down some of its demands to levels which the country can afford and will have to co-operate in building South Africa.

"Therefore, we must all be aware of our limited options and of the parameters within which reform can take place."

Mr Heunis said economic realities had to be considered when planning constitutional structures or pursuing social justice

— for example, equal opportunities in education or economic advancement.

Experience in post-colonial Africa underlined the fact that political development was practically meaningless if it was not backed by economic development.

African experience had also demonstrated that "imported" Western economic and political systems could not be expected to succeed in Third World countries.

"Being part of Africa, we in South Africa have to take cognisance of these realities in our economic and political planning."

Mr Heunis said it was of the utmost importance that the legitimate aspirations of South Africa's population groups were accommodated as far as possible through the rec-

ognition of ethnic and cultural diversity, the acceptance of group rights to manage their own cultural affairs, the advancement of joint interests, and the elimination of unnecessary and hurtful discrimination.

"It is my personal ideal, and a goal to which the government is also striving, to bring about a just and peaceful democratic South African society.

"This is a society in which every South African, regardless of his race or creed, can enjoy a happy, prosperous and secure existence.

"I believe this objective is shared by the majority of our population. I am convinced that the realisation of this goal is a common challenge that we can successfully meet together.

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SOUTH AFRICA

BRITISH REPORTER DESCRIBES WHITE OPINIONS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 5 Jan 86 p 15

[Article by Peter Taylor, chief foreign correspondent of the LONDON SUNDAY TELEGRAPH]

[Text]

**P**IK BOTHA, South Africa's Foreign Minister, seemed in a tetchy mood. It took him a few moments to look up from his desk in the Union Buildings, Pretoria, and then he loped across the room with his shirt-tail hanging out, drawing heavily on a cigarette.

He was cordial, but plainly had other things on his mind.

"My enemies are always making work for me," he growled, and we sat down.

Before I had a chance to ask him about the Government's controversial reforms, he began reading from a document which listed his guidelines. "Domination of any community — rejected. Racial discrimination — rejected."

He let the paper fall with a flourish. "It is very unfair to accuse us of something which we ourselves reject. We accept power-sharing. The only thing to be worked out is how and with whom. We accept it in principle from local government to the highest level of government."

Mr Botha has a habit of interrupting questions.

"International reaction has been unremittingly hostile ..." I was saying.

"We get no support, no encouragement. The answer we get is 'slam them, give 'em hell'. Whatever we do we've got to sell to our own public first, our own voters — and we've done it. It's my task to get up in front of white audiences in the rural areas and tell them to accept it."

"Would you not expect a reasonable government or person abroad to say 'Dammit, these blokes have done a lot of work in a year. They have moved from apartheid to a completely new era, seeking common ground, common citizenship, property rights for blacks, permanence for blacks in the white areas, voting rights for blacks'?"

"I take the point, Mr Botha ..."

"All we hear is 'Unless you bloody do this — more punitive measures'. This is a concerted action. I say to you, the media, you've been penetrated."

"By whom?"

"Heaven knows by whom, but never have I come across such a lie being perpetrated. We are not interested in talking to the media any more, I want to be blunt with you."

**T**his didn't sound too promising, but I asked Mr Botha what sort of federal arrangements — in principle — he was thinking about.

"I am not going to discuss this in public. The principle is power-sharing."

"But the Government is being criticised even by whites for not sounding a certain note."

"The moment I sound a certain note I've got to spell out now how I think the blueprint will look. The moment I do that it's shot down, both from the Right and from the Left."

"I realise that, but don't you think your reforms have been badly received precisely because you won't spell them out in detail?"

"I'm sorry, I disagree. Our enemies saw the various statements made step by step by my President — and he could not make them all at once — and as they perceived that this Government was doing the unexpected, they feared that there were blacks who would negotiate."

"That would have robbed the radicals of their objective — seizing power."

"It doesn't matter what we announced in terms of reform. Unless we had capitulated to the African National Congress, nothing, nothing, would have given us a favourable Press."

The Foreign Minister was looking wounded and belligerent at the same time. He never lets his eyes off you for a second.

"But many people simply don't believe that whites are going to give up power," I said.

He leaned forward and emphasised each word: "White domination will disappear."

"So at the highest level of government whites can be outvoted by other groups?"

"I didn't say that. It is quite possible that the various communities — and not necessarily ethnic ones — might decide on a form of government where consensus is the basic rule. As a

matter of fact all African countries are governed today on a consensus basis."

"Isn't a coalition government more likely?"

He forcefully exhaled a cloud of smoke and shook his head. "I'm not going to be painted into a corner."

But with no real negotiations taking place, wasn't he painted into a corner anyway?

"Negotiations are difficult. Black leaders themselves are having difficulty in talking to one another. On occasion I've been told 'Minister, if you talk to that man, don't come back and talk to me again.'"

"Wouldn't the release of Nelson Mandela bring about a new climate..." I had started.

"Yes," he interrupted, digging the air with his forefinger. "It can change the climate to the point where this Government will be blamed for terrorists who explode bombs and kill innocent people."

"That would make further negotiations completely impossible. Completely."

"But Africa is full of terrorists who became politicians. What's so special about Mandela?"

**H**e thought for a little while. "You seem to forget that there are also whites in this country who may be in favour of violence in order to achieve their political purposes."

"The citizens of this country must know that there can be no long-term stable solution on the basis of violence."

After some answers he slumped back in his chair, like a boxer assessing how the round had gone. I felt this was the end of a very one-sided bout.

"Aren't you going to lose support to the right wing?" I asked.

"It's a human phenomenon that when there is change people tend to cling to that which was known to them. A lot of our voters know we are going to share power."

"They ask me at meetings 'Are blacks going to sit with you in government one day?' and the answer is 'Yes'. It's the clearest evidence that we are sincere."

As I got up to leave he observed that British industry was in a bad way and scowled: "The day will come when we will show you more sympathy than you have shown us."

He turned sharply on his heel and stalked off to deal with more enemies.

Perhaps Pik Botha's most powerful ally in hastening change is big business — and they don't come any bigger than the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa whose chairman, Gavin Relly, recently brushed aside protocol and flew to Lusaka for man-to-man talks with the ANC chairman, Oliver Tambo.

But even Mr Relly is unclear about the Government's precise intentions.

He prefers to talk instead — in almost Thatcherite terms — of shared values in business and politics.

"If we're going to have a free enterprise society, the political implications of that is a free choice society. People must be allowed to associate together for political purposes on a colour-blind basis."

Fine, I said, but the very idea is anathema to some whites.

"If there are groups of white people who are unable to live with the idea of a multiracial society, which inevitably there are, they should have the right to negotiate out."

"Conventionally, they have always wanted to break off the black people and keep the heartland of South Africa, which is intolerable. But if they want to negotiate an area of totally white dominance which isn't the heartland, then I see no objection in principle."

"You mean white Bantustans?"

"Absolutely."

I asked him about his overtures to Oliver Tambo. Given the ANC's Marxist orientation, wasn't this a case of turkeys voting for Christmas?

He gave a fruity little snort. "I personally don't envisage the ANC as an alternative government of South Africa. Of course, there are a number of conceptions among black people here which are not entirely favourable to capitalism and you can hardly blame people who have no capital, or no chance of acquiring it, for taking that view."

"But we have to move into an identifiably free enterprise system. It's lack of free choice which has really been the impediment to our growth and development."

Mr Relly is bullish, but white fears about reform are succinctly expressed in a recent letter to the Johannesburg Star from "Prove me Wrong", of Kew (these quaint pen names are very popular). "South African whites," he writes, "who, through a combination of our own mistakes and the insidious cunning of communist propaganda and media-manipulation, have lost the sympathy of the entire Western world, will be systematically eliminated."

The propaganda offensive being conducted against them is a deeply sensitive subject for most whites. (Can you imagine the media making Mr P W Botha look as "humane" as Mr Gorbachev?)

The South African Government responds with its own ineffectual counter-propaganda. But sweet-talking is not an Afrikaner characteristic and neither is efficiency in communication. There is no Dr Goebbels here.

If there is apprehension about the long-term future, there are also more pressing financial worries. With inflation running at 18 percent a year, economic analysts are concerned that

the modest boost given to the economy a month ago will produce hyperinflation within a year.

The fall in the rand has put up import costs sharply and, since most manufactures contain an imported element, this is already feeding through into higher prices.

At present, wages and salaries show little sign of catching up.

Small wonder that a recent survey suggests that South Africa is losing 3 000 skilled whites a month through emigration.

**A**nother poll indicates that 18 percent of the country's English-speaking whites expect to leave within five years. (All over Africa you see a kind of Lost Tribe of Empire trying to adjust to changed circumstances but talking moodily of moving on to even stranger places.)

That same poll, however, showed that only three percent of Afrikaans-speaking whites were thinking of leaving. In trying to understand the pressures on Mr Botha's Government, this point cannot be made too strongly: the Afrikaners have nowhere else to go.

The fears of whites are met in the little town of Sasolburg, which two months ago threw out its Nationalist MP at a by-election and replaced him with a member of the ultra-Right Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Sasolburg, an hour's drive south from Johannesburg, was created by, and takes its name from, the vast Sasol plant which converts low-grade coal into petrol, diesel and jet fuel.

In itself it is a potent symbol of South Africa's determination to resist external pressures (oil is the only important commodity in which the country is not self-sufficient).

The plant was attacked by guerrillas in 1980 (another Sasol installation in the Cape was attacked only last month) and it now resembles a fortress. Two razor-wire fences run the length of a perimeter which is further reinforced by cylindrical concrete watch-towers.

Flames and fumes are belched into the air in a process which originated in Germany in the Second World War. "I believe it helped to keep Hitler going for the last 18 months," the public relations lady said blandly.

A few hundred yards from one side of the wire is the black township of Zamdela, mainly bleak single-storey hostels for migrant workers.

A few hundred yards from the other side is Sasolburg itself, a meticulously-planned garden town which, for the past seven years, has won the title of "Fairtest town in the Free State".

The basic industries which support the 30 000 whites and 22 000 blacks are less susceptible to recession than most (unemployment among both

groups is negligible), but whites are having to make their money go further these days.

Holidays are being cut out and there is a tendency to make the car last four years instead of two (the car repossession business is something of an economic growth point).

So Sasolburg voted against the Government. "People here have no funds to emigrate and start somewhere else," said a businessman. "They've nothing to lose."

**A** young lawyer who is active in the HNP told me that when he went round canvassing everyone grumbled they didn't know what the Government's policy was any more. But even the HNP has been imperceptibly shifting its ground.

The lawyer was deeply shocked that a mixed marriage had recently taken place nearby ("Right here! On our doorstep!")

But he went on: "There cannot be a white South Africa without blacks. They will live here. But under our conditions; and if they don't like it, it must be possible for them to go to their own state and make a living there. We are already subsidising these states, but we will have to pay more if necessary. It's the only way."

I drove around town again: the hellish industrial complex, blacks browsing through the pretty shopping arcade, tanned housewives on their way to tennis. There were three places to eat: the restaurant, the hotel and the Wimpy Bar — all desegregated.

"This is what gets me," the lawyer had said. "You have no choice. If I want to eat with whites I have to drive 10 miles." I ate in the hotel, which was empty.

"It's like a morgue in here," said the manager, "even on pay days."

The HNP's victory in Sasolburg gave it its only parliamentary seat, so the main rightwing opposition to the Government still comes from the Conservative Party (18 seats) led by Dr Andries Treurnicht.

I met Dr Treurnicht — known as "Dr No" because of his implacable resistance to the dismantling of apartheid — at the party's offices, a modest suburban house in Johannesburg.

"We'll eat in the garden," an aide said. "At least we'll know we're not being bugged."

"Are you bugged as well?" I asked.

"I wouldn't put anything past this Government," she replied.

Dr Treurnicht, a dapper, formal man, appeared. He turned down a drink ("I'm not a beer man") and opted for apple juice.

Despite his stern, gold-rimmed spectacles he reminded me irresistibly in voice and manner of Victor Borge: deadpan remarks suddenly punctuated by a bark of vulnerable laughter.

"Some people think you shouldn't use the word apartheid because it can be pronounced 'apart-hate.'" This whimsy produced a subterranean chortle.

The Conservative Party is only three years old but he took encouragement, he said, from the speed with which the Nationalists came to power in 1948. He was not against "reform in principle", but immediately we ran into the tangled semantics of South African politics.

What Dr Treurnicht means by reform is separate parliaments for separate ethnic states: the fulfilment of classical apartheid.

He picked at a salad. "The Nationalists have lost their nerve and their policy. Jellyfish, all of them. The end of the road is a unitary state — blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians jointly taking part in political decision-making."

"It's a matter of proportionality and it stands to reason that the black people will simply take over. We see no future for the white man in that process, and not even for blacks."

**D**r Treurnicht is a devout Christian and a former minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. So I asked him about the moral basis for apartheid.

"I would say even the Biblical basis for separate development is the acknowledgement in Scripture not only of the diversity of peoples but of the existence of peoples on the basis of separate areas."

"St Paul comes along and says that God is responsible for the creation of nations, and that it is pre-determined where they will live and proliferate. And His will is fulfilled in history despite the mistakes people make."

"All of a sudden what we would call nationalism, or the feeling for one's own people, was negatively described as racism. I wouldn't call recognising differences of race, racism."

Neither would I, I said, but the problem arises when you begin to evaluate those differences. That runs contrary, not only to modern egalitarian fashions, but to the Christian doctrine that we are all equal in the eyes of God.



The doctor's eyes narrowed. His cheek muscles trekked stoically on through the beef. "Some say that because all people are equal in the eyes of God they should be equal in political expression — in the same structures, in the same residential areas, in the same land. And I think that's going a bit too far."

"You're going to lose this fight, aren't you?" I said.

"No, because what we stand for isn't something strange. The whole set-up in Europe is a model for South Africa. Various ethnic and cultural groups exist on the basis of separateness as to land. We say that's a sound principle to apply here, where the differences are even greater.

These ideas sounded strange to British ears, I said.

"That's because you are not involved in a struggle for survival. In the Second World War you had something of that in Britain, fighting for the British way of life."

P W Botha, the doctor went on, was changing things without consultation, by sleight of hand.

"Take the Mixed Marriages Act. Two years ago we were asked to look at how the Act could be improved — not abolishing the principle. Then suddenly it was gone."

"You would restore the Mixed Marriages Act, would you?"

"Oh yes. We would restore that."

"But why should the State interfere with love — or lust, for that matter?"

"We accept the right of a people to protect its identity and if a people's identity is endangered by large-scale marriage into different racial groups, we say the Government is entitled to take certain steps."

"But which take precedence: a person's status as a human being or his status as an Afrikaner or an Englishman?"

"Well, you may consider joining a country where you are just another individual. But in our society such a person is a foreign object in the community. It's an intrusion."

Didn't he think, I asked him finally, that this cultural isolationism, as

much as neglect or greed, had betrayed the white man's civilising mission in Southern Africa?

The doctor was patient and deliberate, like an instructor with a particularly dim apprentice.

"The civilising mission did not produce European Zulus. Leading people by the process of education does not mean that a Zulu becomes a sort of non-cultural being."

"Take a man like Buthelezi (Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi, head of the Zulu political and cultural organisation Inkatha). He's a civilised man and a Christian. But Buthelezi is a Zulu nationalist, and sometimes I think he's a Zulu imperialist."

"Or take Desmond Tutu. His black consciousness is frightening."

To the outside world the pace of change may seem pedestrian, but there is no doubt that classical apartheid is being relentlessly dismantled. The granting of black freehold rights in the townships a week ago removes yet another cornerstone of the old order, and further urban reforms are expected early in the New Year.

**W**e shall not see P W Botha facing Nelson Mandela or Oliver Tambo over a negotiating table just yet. Mr Botha, 70 this year, may be coming to the end of his time in politics, but he moves at his own pace.

The emergency laws, unfair and arbitrary as they are, have succeeded in reducing the level of violence. A Government which has done as it pleased for nearly 40 years and still has huge reserves of sheer force at its disposal, is not likely to be rushed.

If anything, it is a time for consolidation and assessment. Speaking last August, President Botha quoted the Afrikaans writer Langenhoven: "If we are ahead of time we can wait for it. If we are behind time, it does not wait for us."

Like many an Afrikaner aphorism, its meaning is unclear. Is he celebrating insouciance, or urging the importance of seizing the moment?

I suppose we must hope it is the latter.



SOUTH AFRICA

LANDMINES AFFECT NORTHERN TRANSVAAL BORDER FARMING COMMUNITY

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 10 Jan 86 p 5

[Article by Fred Stiglingh]

[Text]

**THE peaceful routines of farmers on the Northern Transvaal border have been shattered by the incongruous sounds of eight landmine blasts amid the stillness of gnarled baobab trees.**

Suddenly they find themselves thinking in terms of security fences, handgrenade guards on windows and anti-mine vehicles.

A routine occurrence, taking children to school, becomes an ordeal, and neighbours never drop in for a visit after dark.

At Ellisras, where Saturday's blast killed two people on the farm Stockpoort, the community wants action.

Says Gys Vlok, cattle farmer at Mogol, near the Limpopo on the Botswana border: "The farmers and people of the town want the defence force to destroy African National Congress positions; they want something done."

He says, however, there is "no panic or pessimism" among farmers, and they do not yet regard the border farming area as a new frontier.

But the signs are there.

Local commando units are on the alert and are working with the defence force on safety measures which include the possibility of landmine resistant vehicles for farmers. More immediately, radio systems have been installed at most farms for direct contact with the military, and high-security fences are being erected.

The picture at Messina is much the same as at Ellisras, with heavy military presence, and farm roads patrolled and swept for mines daily.

"We have all expected this," says vegetable farmer Flip Nel, "but not so soon."

Long before the first blast, farmers were issued with military R1 rifles and rounds of ammunition, and organised in commando units. Radio systems for communication were installed as a matter of course.

Nel, his mother, his wife Jeanie and their three young children are part of a group of five isolated farms in the northernmost Soutpansberg district, west of Beit Bridge.

But Nel says he is not thinking of moving. "Also, if farmers had to move, it would only push the border deeper inland."

In addition, a recent agreement with the government compels farmers to stay for at least 10 years if they bought their property on state loan. It also stipulates they may not be away from their farms for longer than three months a year.

Willie Esterhuyse, cotton and wheat farmer, commands about 60 farmers in the Dongola Commando unit.

The landmine blasts, he says, have had a binding effect on the farming community, including the black farm workers. "Landmines are not selective, they kill whoever goes over

them, and our workers are on our side."

One of the many security problems is the danger of intimidation of labourers' families and friends from across the Zimbabwe border by members of the ANC, to the extent that people are forced to take mines into SA, Esterhuyse says.

A ride along the border security fence reveals several gaps — breaks in the fence or gates left open — which would make hopping across undetected easier than it may sound.

Already a phenomenon — described by one farmer as "people are only people" — is establishing itself: the frontier farmers are getting used to this way of life.

Seun de Swardt is a game-farm owner, businessman, and chairman of the Messina Afrikaanse Sakekamer.

— He estimates that 40% of land owned in the area is dedicated to game farming.

Even though game farms tend to be further from the border he fears the stigma of landmines would bring a slump in foreign business.

Solutions to the problems, he feels, are political, and lie in change.

Relations with Zimbabwe are good, says De Swardt, to the extent that Zimbabwe police go to the trouble of locating and returning cattle stolen from South African farmers.

And the townsfolk forget quicker than the farmers.

Says a young local, sipping his brandy-and-coke during a break in a pub darts game: "Landmines? Let me rather tell you about something far more interesting. Let's talk about Messina's women."

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SOUTH AFRICA

# CAPE PRESS MERGER WILL STOP ARGUS TAKEOVER

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Jan 86 p 13

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — The merger of two suburban newspapers on the False Bay coast, the False Bay News and the Fish Hoek Echo, has prevented a "take-over" by the Argus Company in this area, according to those involved in the new publication.

The False Bay News was founded two years ago by Unicorn Publishing, in which the Argus has a 60 percent share, in opposition to the family-owned Fish Hoek Echo, founded in 1951.

Compared with 12 000 copies of the "knock and drop" Echo, Unicorn were distributing 15 000 copies of the False Bay News in the same area — along the False Bay coast from Simon's Town to Muizenberg.

The Citizen learned that in the fight between the Echo and the News, both publications suffered.

However, Mr Stoffel Lotz, proprietor of the Echo, had been determined that his newspaper would not go under. He was also opposed to any merger that would mean outside control.

In terms of the merger, a new bi-monthly called the False Bay Echo will publish its first edition of 15 000 copies on January 23.

The editor in chief will be Mr Barry Lotz, who was editor of the Echo, and the editorial and printing staff of the Echo has remained intact. Mr Lotz is the son of Mr Stoffel Lotz.

The new publishing company is UML (Pty) Ltd. Unicorn holds 45 percent of the shares and the Lotz family 49 percent — Mr Barry Lotz 24 percent and his father 25 percent.

The balance of six percent is held by Multiquest which, like Unicorn, publishes other suburban newspapers in the Cape Peninsula.

Multiquest is owned by Mr Roger Hulley and Mr Ken Andrew, both of whom are Progressive Federal Party members of Parliament. Multiquest also owns 40 percent of Unicorn Publishing.

Approached for comment, Mr Stoffel Lotz said he and his son held more shares than the Argus held through its interest in Unicorn.

"I was not interested in a take-over and wanted to keep our independence and retain our staff," Mr Lotz said.

"I think we have arrived at a very acceptable merger which retains our independence."

Mr Barry Lotz told The Citizen that the family had not been forced into the merger by any action of Unicorn or the Argus. He was very happy with the new set-up.

Mr Roger Hulley, MP for Constantia, said Multiquest had been invited to participate in UML to ensure that the new newspaper would not be controlled by any group.

"I am convinced its independence has been assured," he said.

The four-member board of directors of UML comprises the two members of the Lotz family, one representative of Unicorn and one representative of Multiquest.

The Lotz family therefore occupy half of the seats on the board.

The shareholding of the company would only become an issue if there was a voting deadlock on the board. This was a most unlikely event, The Citizen was told.

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SOUTH AFRICA

NATIONALISTS BLAMED FOR BOOSTING ANC IMAGE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 Jan 86 p 8

[Article by Harvey Tyson in Undercurrent Affairs column]

[Text]

Seldom in history has any banished band of activists been handed on a plate so much international influence as the expatriates of the African National Congress.

They are often credited with the strength of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the cunning of the Kremlin, and the righteousness of Abraham Lincoln.

These ridiculous claims are not of the ANC's making. Indeed, Mr Oliver Tambo and his colleagues must be surprised at the success they have had, after doing relatively little in the past two years.

The Nationalist Government has done nearly everything for them.

There are, of course, contributory causes for the distorted picture of white South Africa being all evil, and of the ANC being the pure and powerful champion of the oppressed.

One reason is the 20th century phenomenon of tension between North and South or First and Third Worlds. Apartheid affords a safety valve for these tensions.

Another is the fact that any signal of reform releases all kinds of suppressed forces.

A third is the belated (20 years overdue) world revulsion at apartheid and the self-indulgent emotionalism that this engendered. Apartheid, quite rightly, is as emotive a target in the civilised world today as slavery was 100 years ago.

Yet all these causes for anti-South African condemnation are insignificant next to the Nationalist Government's own actions. It has done more to build the antagonism to its "reform" policies — and to South Africa as we once knew it — than the ANC, the anti-apartheid lobby, and the "leftists, liberals and Marxists" combined.

Had Mr P W Botha's Government behaved with decorum, discipline and commonsense in the past 24 months, the wave of illogical and woolly anti-South African sentiment that is battering the nation and its economy might now be receding before a strong backwash.

The *Tribune*, a hardnosed left-wing newspaper in Britain, emphasised the danger of a backlash recently when it described Bangladesh's boycott of the England B cricket team as "wrong, inept" and a threat to the anti-apartheid cause. It saw the Bangladesh action, with consequences for Zimbabwean and West Indian cricket, as "gesture politics of the worst kind, meaningless and futile; its targets wrongly chosen and ill-defined".

Indeed, the politics of sanctions have often been so sanctimonious, hypocritical and wildly illogical that the campaign should have been laughed off the world stage by now.

Ludicrous examples are legion. In only the past seven days we were served a rich menu of them,

ranging from the Dilemma of the Lady Unicorns (a team of English women cricketers who will joust with hornless Springboks) to the Threat of Nationalist Nuclear Devastation (an "overkill" accusation by Bishop Tutu in drumming up non-trade with South Africa in the United States).

But whenever the wild wooliness and weird wisdom of the boycott campaign (designed to create violence in order to end violence) become apparent, our own Government blunders in, and thus shores up the anti-South African cause.

Again, there were several examples in the past few days:

● Police action. South Africa was identified in the media abroad this week with a small band of authoritarian nations accused of torturing prisoners. Such an accusation, which should never have been possible in our country, is not easily challenged these days. And almost any acquaintance from overseas who has watched TV out of the corner of his eye in any part of the world will tell you that the sight of SAP sjamboks (or whips or quirts or batons) on the small screen, and the scenes of mobs fleeing from shotguns and teargas, have done South Africa immense injury. Police force has hurt the nation's reputation, and race relations, possibly as much as the combined efforts of apartheid's declared enemies.

● The Lesotho border dispute. This exercise may look like a comforting and triumphant show of strength when seen from Ficksburg and Ladybrand, but to the outside world the over-reaction confirms what the wildest and woolliest critics of South Africa are saying about us.

● The Leutwiler visit. The voluntary mediator has expressed optimism about President Botha's plans for the future, and is now selling the message to some of the bankers who "pulled the plug" on the South African economy after August. Dr Leutwiler's activities remind us of how great was the blunder of that Durban speech five long months ago.

★ ★ ★

There is some comfort to be found in all this.

First, the ANC is not as big a bogymen as it and the Government will have everyone believe.

Second, it would be hard for any government to persist in being as insensitive and stupid as ours has been in the first few years of its reformist stage.

Third, the actions and attitudes that require changing in order to alter the nation's image are fairly easily defined.

Some humility, some democracy, some discipline, and some genuine self-confidence might put the nation back on track. (Mr Chester Crocker, the American in

the middle of the South African situation who is disliked by both extremes, offered the right tone this week.)

The first change must be in police and security methods. It requires a public commitment by the Commissioner, the Cabinet and the Police and Defence Departments. We need a stronger, better-equipped police force that is deployed sagaciously and under the strictest discipline. The military should be withdrawn from civilian policing.

Second, we need to change policy in our relationships with the rest of the sub-continent. Nkomati brought benefits, and can be made to work. Raids on Gaborone and Maseru had short-term security advantages, possibly, but they have done immense harm in the long-term. Perhaps, in this regard, we need most of all a change in the attitude, the structure, and the public accountability of the secretive National Security Council.

Third, the Government has to take cognisance of the world. The nation's public image is decided not by vicious propagandists, as the politicians fondly believe, but by their own public words and actions.

Which brings us to apartheid itself, and to the pending "Rubicon 2" speech by the State President to Parliament this month...

But that is the subject of another column...

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SOUTH AFRICA

GRADUATES STRUGGLE TO FIND JOBS THIS YEAR

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 9 Jan 86 p 5

[Article by Alan Ruddock and Alan Peat]

[Text]

**NEW graduates are struggling to find a niche in the 1986 jobs market.**

Gone are the days when a degree was an automatic ticket to a promising career. Instead, many graduates are learning that options are limited and they must be prepared to accept low-level employment — if they can find it.

Particularly hard-hit this year are arts and B.Comm graduates. Charles Rowlinson, MD of Renwick Management Consultants, says he does not have one position for graduate management trainees on his books.

"In the boom times, we could not find enough trainees. This year companies are not training.

"They are taking the short-term view of survival in 1986 and they have to look at bottom line profits. Training graduates is an investment that most companies cannot afford."

Wendy Davies, manager of personnel agency Career Women, says: "We have had a lot of people with degrees looking for any sort of job."

Andrew Swart, head of the University of the Witwatersrand counselling and careers unit, says: "We have had graduates approaching us this year inquiring

about post-graduate studies for no other reason than their unemployment.

"There was a steady growth in the number of companies approaching us for suitable graduates until 1984. But this last year has seen the first drop in numbers we have had."

Ian Gibson, head of the student advisory service at University of Natal in Durban, agrees the outlook is bleak.

"The situation demands strategies for survival — a struggle to find training to gain meaningful employment. New graduates will have to develop better job-search tactics."

He says company recruitment officers who have visited the university campus "are here on a very selective basis".

Gibson and Swart agree the trend is for companies to demand higher qualifications.

"There is an increasing number of graduates, for example, doing courses at technikons in subjects like cost and management accounting, and the Chartered Institute of Secretaries course purely to improve their acceptability in the job market," says Gibson.

Some graduates are still in demand, however, notably engineers.



SOUTH AFRICA

PREDICTIONS ON HOW FAR GOVERNMENT WILL GO IN 1986

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 5 Jan 86 p 11

[Article by John MacLennan]

[Text]

**PRESIDENT P W Botha is unlikely to announce any constitutional breakthrough when he opens Parliament later this month.**

Pundits have been predicting that he will use the opportunity to announce some type of federal option and address himself to the issue of a constitutional accommodation for blacks which is aimed at taking the heat out of the unrest.

Expectations of a major policy statement — similar to the pre-Rubicon build-up — have been raised in private briefings.

But sources close to the Cabinet painted a bleak picture of a granite-willed President who has already said most of what he is likely to say.

According to them, President Botha went as far as he was prepared to when he announced he was willing to talk to blacks who forswore violence in a framework comprising a universal franchise and common citizenship in an undivided South Africa.

He now feels it is not up to him to take any further initiatives.

Nor is he able to announce any progress because the only talks on a negotiated future which have taken place with so-called "real" black leaders are characterised by sources as "low-profile".

The Government is committed to reform, I was told, but it is unwilling to impose any new constitutional deals unilaterally.

All its hopes are now pinned on the possibility that black leaders may be persuaded to come to the negotiating table.

Official sources maintain that a great amount of black goodwill still exists but that the Government cannot build on this through joint talks because radicals have effectively made it impossible, through intimidation, for moderates to cooperate.

They make it plain that the Government is not about to rush into a search for instant remedies and is working in a timeframe of years rather than months just to compile a workable agenda for possible talks.

The Nationalists do not believe any existing constitutional module will satisfy the demands of South Africa and note that they are in search of a unique solution to a unique set of problems.

— Blacks, they maintain, are now beginning to realise they cannot go it alone because history has irrevocably bound blacks and whites together here and no future is possible for this country without co-operation for a new tomorrow.

They are hopeful that blacks are now coming to agree that the nuts-and-bolts prerequisites for any solution must include acceptance of the rule of law, protection of minority rights and private ownership of property.

No movement should be expected on the question of Government talks with the ANC, now or ever.

Sources say flatly that the Nats don't see any point in talking to the banned organisation. The official feeling is that the ANC does not want a settlement in the first place and that the differences between the two sides are completely irreconcilable.

They also feel the security forces are on top of the unrest and there is no burning need to defuse it by talking to the ANC. The ANC is seen to have scored some propaganda coups but to have lost the townships war.

The only possible breakthrough on which sources are in agreement is that influx control might be abolished during this session.

There will be no change in the hated Group Areas Act and the Government is not considering special "grey areas" dis-

pensation for mixed-race couples who are now prosecuted if they live in white suburbs.

President Botha will also be hoping for an easing-off in the unrest so he can justify the State of Emergency to Parliament, where the PFP is predicting an "extremely tough No-confidence Debate because of an extremely tough situation".

Mr Colin Eglin, PFP national chairman, said the party would go in with all guns blazing because of the monumental errors of management. "We want to get out of the spiral of violence and on to the road of peace."

The party's priority will be to get a meaningful process of negotiation going on a future to which all South Africans can subscribe.

"We will demand the release of political prisoners, unbanning of banned organisations, the dismantling of apartheid structures and then sitting down to an open-ended agenda to discuss a future constitutional system.

"We will come with specific proposals. We think the situation is so critically balanced between hope and despair, success and failure, violence and peace that it is not enough just to point to the obvious failures of the Government.

"The PFP has to do something to try to extricate not only the Government but South Africa from the mess in which we have been landed."

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CSO: 3400/931

SOUTH AFRICA

TWO LEADING FOREIGN JOURNALISTS REPORT ON VISIT

Changing Face of Cities

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 5 Jan 86 p 11

[Article by Matthew Engel]

[Text]

**In this article for The Guardian, Engel, who has just returned to Britain from South Africa, finds that the changing face of the cities brings apartheid's moment of truth ever closer.**

"HELLO," said one of my less-sympathetic South African colleagues, "Come to sort out the country again in a fortnight, have you?"

Heavens, no. The Afrikaners have been there for three centuries and they haven't a clue.

So this is not the definitive state-of-the-nation report but sometimes a passer-by can catch a few drifts and moods, that might escape the inhabitants.

South Africa certainly surprised me.

In many ways it is still, in the local idiom, helluva twitchy.

Within hours of my arrival ("Any firearms or books?" asked the customs officer) I asked a black guy at a bus stop whether or not I could catch a bus there for the city centre.

"What?" he said.

"Bus," I repeated, louder.

He immediately put his hand in his pocket and showed me his pass. I do not look much like a South African policeman.

But it is the whites who are cowering most.

Take Johannesburg: when it was part of Paul Kruger's republic, blacks were not allowed on the pavements; 10 years ago, when I first went there, they walked around looking put-upon, did their business then hurried back to Soweto. Suddenly they have taken over the place.

Many white housewives never come to the city and buy everything they need in the suburban shopping malls.

Those who do shop in town walk quickly and scuttle home to suburbs where the burglar-alarm signs now dwarf the house names.

It seems like a new form of apartheid, with the whites confined to their own luxurious, fortified locations.

The street life — trinket-sellers, blind beggars, pea-and-thimble men — is black.

Yet to a resident of bomb-conscious, crime-ridden London, the cities seem absurdly welcoming.

You can even leave your bag in a locker at the station, a

privilege denied to the British these 15 years.

White South Africa can read of megadeaths in the townships with barely a flicker of interest. A couple of isolated incidents in the business district have caused something close to panic.

Cape Town, always a saner city, is more relaxed, although there was far more genuine danger at the height of the trouble from kids throwing rocks at cars that did not have packing cases firing back.

Apartheid there was always particularly out of place: only a Government official can tell white from Cape coloured from black with total assurance.

Now one senses the system is crumbling, the suburban trains have been desegregated, but with a typical South African botch.

The three carriages nearest the barrier remain Whites Only ("Our national heritage," said a Minister) the rest are open to everyone.

So you can, if you wish, find a normal compartment. But it requires a walk, a positive effort and a realisation that in rush hour especially, the wel-

come may not be overwhelming. They should erect a new sign: Non-Whites and Posturing Liberals Only.

But much more crucially the Group Areas Act is on the verge of breakdown.

As with so much else that has happened in South Africa this year, economics look like being decisive: the white property market has collapsed as emigrants scuttle for the airport: in middle-class coloured areas prices are going sky-high through lack of space.

Very soon, the two will simply have to merge.

It is grand for a visiting Brit. One always felt that by visiting South Africa, one was exploiting the blacks. At four rands to the pound, you can exploit the whites as well.

This does not mean South Africa is about to become the holiday bargain of 1986.

Already, inflation is close to 20 percent, as though Lord Barber were not merely arriving as part of the Commonwealth delegation but had already taken over the economy.

Imported goods have already become expensive. You can get

your firearms easily enough but books are pricey.

But it is a time of excitement, of ferment.

I do not believe South Africa is imminently pre-revolutionary. The whites are too entrenched, the blacks too divided, the security apparatus too ruthless but the Government, has lost control — not of power but of purpose.

If the outside world does not relax, there can be no going back to the old South Africa.

There is still a chance of ensuring that the new South Africa is a happier place.

In the meantime, events are wholly unpredictable.

At the height of the Cape Town violence, a friend of mine found a pile of the rubble that the kids were using to bombard motorists.

The stones were the leftovers of District Six, the coloured area demolished by the Government in one of apartheid's most malevolent acts.

It is whirlwind-reaping time, and an awful lot of forgotten debris is likely to come back and hit South Africa in the face.

### Black Generation Gap

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 5 Jan 86 p 11

[Article by Colin Legum]

[Text]

SOUTH Africans live in entirely different worlds in terms of their perceptions of what is actually happening in the country.

White South Africans, especially Afrikaners, have no doubt at all that apartheid has already come to an end — at least as the official ideology of the Government — and that they are now caught up in the maelstrom of a disintegrating political system.

A prominent South African writer said in a conversation I had with him in Grahamstown:

"It's as though the long winter of apartheid has ended; suddenly, the deadlock has broken; the ice-bound logs are beginning to surge forward in the spring currents."

"The lumbermen, who had an easy time of it during the freeze-up, are now to be seen jumping hazardously from one dislodged log to another trying to restore control over their tumultuous surge towards the sea."

But if this seems to be an accurately graphic description of what is indeed happening, it is

by no means the way black South Africans see their situation

Wherever one goes — in the urban ghettos, in smaller rural towns like Cradock and Oudtshoorn, in the coloured townships — the message is the same: "For us, nothing has changed, only the rhetoric"

"We listen to the speeches of the President, but our lives remain confined by the pass laws; the urban influx-control laws forbid us from moving around to find new jobs at a time when unemployment is growing, the police still behave as badly towards us as they always have, perhaps even worse now; and even the insults of so-called petty apartheid are part of our daily experience."

Nor is this just the language of black militants; it is the coinage of humble people in South Africa

These totally conflicting perceptions about the current situation in South Africa reflect the wide gulf that still exists between the two societies which makes meaningful communications so difficult

The whites hear and understand the message of President P W Botha that their political domination is over

The blacks, informed by their own experience, listen but don't accept the message

It is this absence of effective dialogue that increases the dangers of the present situation

All the fine, and often brave, words of Mr Botha count for nothing so far as blacks are concerned in the absence of meaningful dialogue conducted around a table between the acknowledged representatives of both societies

The President insists that he is anxious to begin negotiations with black leaders — and they, fortunately, are still in a mood for peaceful reconciliation

Very few of the recognisable black leaders I talked to in a score of places around the country expressed themselves against negotiations; on the contrary, they kept stressing the importance and urgency of getting talks under way

The only dissenters I encountered were among some of the more militant black youth leaders

At one meeting in Cape Town I listened to six young militants, all of them in their late teens or early twenties. Their collective view was

The only language the white man will understand in this country is the language of violence. That is their method, and that must be ours as well

Our fathers and grandfathers tried, indeed begged, for a chance to negotiate, and where did that get them? It wasn't until blacks began to take up arms and resorted to throwing rocks and liquidating collaborators that our message began to get across

"But our message is still not fully understood; and it won't be until we begin killing whites."

There is, then, a second gulf opening up — not just between the two societies, but also between the young militants and the older generation of black leaders — the spokesmen of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, and Dr Nthato Motlana's Soweto Civic Association.

The older generation appears to carry most weight in the black community; but so long as they are silenced by being jailed or exiled, the field is left open to the younger generation of understandably angry and desperate men and women.

There is still time to prevent this second gulf widening to the point that it divides the black community.

If that were to happen, the hope of finding a negotiated settlement to South Africa's complex problems would probably be lost forever.

It is this message that needs to be got across, somehow, to the Government.

**The writer, a syndicated columnist and veteran commentator on African affairs, returned recently from a month's tour of South Africa.**

SOUTH AFRICA

LIVING STANDARDS BUCKLE UNDER MEAGER PAY RAISES

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by John Tilston and Stephen Cranston]

[Text]

CURBS on private sector wage increases mean the standard of living will decline again this year.

Increases ranged up to 12%. Large corporations paid closer to this top figure but rises in small firms varied considerably. Those under severe pressure granted no increases at all.

With the rate of inflation this year expected to be at least 15%, workers will be lowering their standard of living for the second year in a row.

Major industrial and commercial groups claim to understand the needs of employees and do their best to accommodate them.

But this is within the constraints of a severely depressed economy.

Among major groups awarding increases was Barlows, which awarded 10% towards the end of last year.

The Chamber of Mines reports that miners received 11%, staggered over the year.

A large insurance company granted increases of 12%.

Pick 'n Pay awarded 13% to 14% in June and a spokesman said increases this year would be about 12%.

Similar increases are being forecast for the current year by employment analysts.

Smaller organisations will mostly give smaller rises.

A building firm decided against granting its traditional December increases last month.

The hard-pressed newspaper industry granted journalists about 8% on average in December.

The inflation-battered increases will be further dented by fiscal drag.

As wages increase, so earners are pushed into higher tax brackets.

The latest Reserve Bank bulletin reports that the slump was particularly noticeable in the growth of nominal wages.

At a seasonally-adjusted annual rate, total remuneration of employees increased by 13,5% in the second half of 1984.

However, the subsequent slowdown in employment growth, higher unemployment rates and lower rates of wage settlement, caused it to rise at a seasonally-adjusted annual rate of only 8,5% in the first half of last year and by a meagre 3,5% in the third quarter of 1985.



SOUTH AFRICA

NATION'S GOLD PRODUCTION SEEMS SET TO FALL

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 9 Jan 86 p 9

[Article by Lawrence Bedford]

[Text]

SA GOLD PRODUCTION for 1985 is set to fall, reducing the country's share of non-communist world output, according to projections based on Chamber of Mines figures.

Industrial action on the mines, the exchange rate and increased incentives for other non-communist producers to lift output are factors contributing to the shrinking SA share of the market.

Production in November was 56 tons, compared with 57 tons in October and 57 tons in November 1984.

The November 1985 figure takes production in the first 11 months of the year to just over 618 tons, compared with the corresponding 1984 figure of 623,5 tons.

If December production maintains its seasonal average of about 60 tons, this will take the 1985 total to about 678 tons.

This compares with total 1984 production of 681 tons, up from 1983's 679,7 tons but well down on

the peak 1974 figure of 758,6 tons.

In that period, SA's share of non-communist gold output declined from 76,1% in 1974 to 59,5% in 1984.

A major reason likely to be cited for the fall last year was a "drastic" drop in May output, mainly because of a union dispute at major gold producer Vaal Reefs — a loss of 4 tons.

Another factor was that gold mines' grades generally were reduced last year as mines took advantage of the higher rand-gold receipts — with the rand crashing against the US dollar — to exploit lower value areas, preserve high value areas, and lengthen the life of the mines.

The average grade for the 10 months to November slipped from 6,43 grams a ton to 6,15g/t, while ore milled declined from 78-million tons to 76-million.

Mining analyst Rodney Yaldwin of Simpson, Frater, Stein & Strong says increasing union

strikes last year pose serious implications for future SA gold output.

"With Vaal Reefs, the union picked the best mine whose total yearly production equals or better most other countries in the world. Mine strikes could theoretically cripple SA gold production in the future.

"We could possibly see a 5-ton to 7-ton loss annually in the near future because of strikes."

His figures also take into account lost production through stoppages due to industrial action at smaller mines.

A spokesman for the chamber says that gold production is affected by a variety of factors.

"For example, if the dollar price rises without too much appreciation of the rand, lower grade ore tonnages become more economically viable.

"Conversely, if the rand appreciates against other currencies, tonnages will drop as producers mill higher grades."

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CSO: 3400/915

SOUTH AFRICA

INFLATION DECLINE HOPES DASHED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 10 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by Gerald Reilly]

[Text]

HOPES of even a moderate decline in the rate of inflation this year were dashed yesterday by the release of the November production price index, which increased by a year-on-year 20,4%.

This has effectively guaranteed that price increases to be faced by consumers — as measured by the Consumer Price Index — will jump to over 20% later this year.

Increased prices faced by producers will ultimately be passed on to consumers.

The All-Commodities Index — incorporating both imported and domestic goods and services — rose by a year-on-year figure of 20,4%, with an increase in November over October of 4,2%.

On an annualised basis, the monthly increase represents a staggering rate of inflation of 64%.

If such a rate were sustained, South Africa's economy, would rapidly sink into

a vicious hyper-inflationary cycle.

The decline in the external value of the rand and the import surcharge have badly affected the rate of price increases, but even the year-on-year figure for locally produced commodities rose by 18,1%, with a 2,8% jump during November.

Imported commodities increased by 28,5% November-on-November, and by a huge 8,8% (which annualises to well over 100%) in November.

Volkskas economist Adam Jacobs said the 8,8% rise was due mainly to the first effects of the 10% import surcharge. "The index indicates there are many more shocks for consumers in the months ahead".

Against a background of the November figure he now expects the average inflation rate for 1986 will be between 17% and 18%. "And it will not surprise me if the CPI goes above 20% at some stage during the year".

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SOUTH AFRICA

PEOPLE PAYING INCREASING PETROL PRICES

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 5 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by John Spira]

[Text]

SOUTH Africans are paying a ridiculously high price for petrol — the price keeps going up here while the world price of oil is going down.

And the Government's pricing structure is to blame, say a number of organisations lobbying for change.

The latest shock petrol price hike — and there are more to come — has spawned a call for a review of the Government's role in petrol pricing and, in particular, Sasol's pricing structure.

Unlike most companies in the private sector, the price at which Sasol sells its petroleum products is linked to the rand price of oil.

Hence, while the world oil price has been declining, South African consumers have been paying more because of the weak rand.

If, instead, the lobby contends, Sasol was to price its output at levels related to production cost, South Africans would pay much less for petrol.

In the year to June 30, 1985, Sasol's pre-interest profit totalled more than R1 billion.

Spearheading the lobby is the Automobile Association which, in a memorandum released to The Sunday Star, urges a reduction in Government intervention in petrol pricing.

"The AA urges the authorities to give attention to a policy which would allow market forces to play a greater role."

The AA suggests the petrol price is fraught with distortions because it contains elements not related to its use.

Further distortions arise from the subsidies received by various sectors and levies paid by some — not all — fuel users.

"The AA believes the price should be based on actual costs and that any subsidisation of any sector should be funded more appropriately and in an accountable manner."

The memorandum says it is unfair that the consumer should have to pay GST on those elements of the price which are in themselves taxes (customs and excise) or levies to specific funds (Equalisation Fund, Central Energy Fund and National Road Fund).

"This is tax on tax."

Referring to the 6,4c pipeline charge built into the price, the AA says this brings the total

paid in one form or another to 31.5c a litre, representing 31 percent of the cost of 93 octane petrol on the Reef.

The South African Transport Service, it suggests, enjoys a large surplus on its pipeline. And while this surplus is used to cross-subsidise other socio-economic and politico-economic services, it is "one of the root causes of distorted tariffs and protective policies which render competition impossible".

The AA also questions the transport element in the petrol price because most fuel supplied inland is made or refined by Sasol.

"The huge difference in the price at the coast and inland is no longer justifiable."

Adding muscle to the Sasol lobby is Mrs Joy Hurwitz, president of the Housewives' League, who says the consumer "has always expected Sasol to assist in times of crisis".

Brian Goodall, the PFP's spokesman on energy affairs, believes the pricing system should be reviewed.

Theoretically, he says, the price to the Reef motorist should be the lowest since it should contain the highest proportion of Sasol petrol and,

therefore, the lowest transport cost.

Sasol contends that whenever the dollar-denominated oil price or the rand/dollar rate shifts in Sasol's favour, the cry goes up that Sasol should not be entitled to benefit. Yet these factors could just as easily shift against Sasol.

Its stance on the issue of pricing is documented in the company's latest annual report: "Since the drastic increases in the retail prices of liquid fuels during January 1985 domestic pricing received considerable publicity.

"The public is frequently left with the impression that the prices are in the main based on costs, consequently leaving the producers and refiners with no incentive to improve efficiency and reduce costs.

"In fact the producer price, which comprises the major portion of the retail price, is determined by international market prices and consequently fluctuates with international prices and exchange rates.

"Domestic production costs... play no role in the determination of prices."

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SOUTH AFRICA

JOB CREATION SEEN AS ONE OF MOST PRESSING ISSUES IN 1986

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (Business) in English 5 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by Angus Macmillan]

[Text]

**WITH** about 400 000 first-timers jostling for jobs and more than 600 000 registered unemployed walking the streets, job creation is one of the most pressing issues facing South Africa in 1986.

This follows a year of unparalleled corporate liquidations, retrenchment of skilled and unskilled workers, a crash in recruitment advertising, burgeoning inflation and reliance on unemployment-insurance payouts.

The Government has admitted, through Deputy Finance Minister Kent Durr, that if it comes to a trade-off between inflation and employment the latter will take priority.

### Disillusioned

Unbridled inflation, however, could make for an uncomfortable year for employers on the industrial-relations front, as unions are unlikely to sit back while price hikes annihilate pay rises.

—Last year 155 000 pupils of all races wrote matric, while there were almost 212 000 university students (excluding the University of South Africa) and an attendance of more than 85 000 at tertiary-level technical colleges and technikons.

Those graduating or leaving school for the workplace will join national servicemen on the employment merry-go-round from which many will fall off disillusioned and bruised.

### Fireworks

Gavin Brown, an industrial-relations specialist, says: "In 1985 union members did not behave as one would expect in a recession because of political issues. Economic realities should tone down their militancy this year, but hyper-inflation would mean fireworks when wage increases are negotiated in the second quarter.

"Unions will be more concerned with improving the lot of their working members than creating employment if inflation runs away."

In 1985 for the first time more blacks were in matric than whites — 64 806 against 62 861. On their heels are 311 680 Std 8 pupils, 174 220 of whom are black and only 82 711 white.

Out in the working world, registered white, Indian and coloured unemployment is

about 80 000, more than double the number out of work in the first week of 1985. The real figure is much higher, as many victims of the recession either do not register or fall outside the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) net.

Central Statistical Services estimates black unemployment to be 500 000, but other researchers say it is closer to two million if the national states are included.

Over the past three-and-a-half years economic conditions have destroyed rather than created work opportunities, with about 500 000 jobs either being lost or prevented from being created by recession.

Since the last quarter of 1984, SA has been losing job opportunities at the rate of 8 000 a month.

Vincent Brett, Assocom's manpower specialist, believes unemployment could get worse before it gets better.

### Job-sharing

He says: "Employers ask us how they can take on new people when they are struggling to keep or trying to get rid of those already on the payroll. It is a Catch-22 situation exacerbated by inflation.

"We ideally need a growth rate of 5% to find jobs for newcomers to the labour

pool, but we will be lucky to achieve 3% in 1986. Radical thinking is needed to create jobs, and job-sharing is one of the ideas being bandied about in industry."

The Government has done much to reduce short-term unemployment by allocating R600-million to job creation and training in the 1985/86 financial year.

Funds for this initiative are coming from surcharges on non-Gatt imports and may continue to be provided in 1986/87.

But longer-term employment prospects will remain bleak until foreign and domestic private-sector investment picks up.

Even big employers like Escom and the Commission for Administration have pruned their job carrots as they struggle to balance their budgets.

Whatever the shortcomings of the Decentralisation Board's incentives for businesses setting up in smaller centres, at least they are creating jobs.

In the year to March 1985, applications to the board entailed 77 486 job opportunities, 74% of them for blacks.

Another bright spot on the horizon is the Mossel Bay fuel-from-gas project, which should employ about 10 000 construction workers between 1987 and 1992.

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SOUTH AFRICA

FEWER STRIKES EXPECTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (Business) in English 5 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by Amrit Manga]

[Text]

INDUSTRIAL action and production time lost through strikes should slacken for the first time for five years during 1986.

This expected significant turnaround in industrial relations comes after an increase of 700% in the number of man days lost through strikes over the past seven years.

### Forcibly

These are some of the predictions contained in the Annual Report on Labour Relations released by labour consultants Andrew Levy and Associates.

Mr Levy is, however, cautious and qualifies his optimism, saying the levelling-off in the number of man days lost is likely with the possible exception of mining.

Conservative estimates put the number of man days lost through strikes on mines during 1985 at about 250 000. The motor industry also recorded the highest number of strikes for many years, 50% of which were linked to wage demands.

Wage demands continued to be made forcibly notwithstanding the loss of 22% of jobs in the motor industry since 1982.

Mr Levy predicts that the swing towards wages as a strike trigger noticed this year will continue, as will the swing away from dismissals.

### Firmer

One of the prime causes for this levelling-off in time lost through strikes will be a shift to shorter work stoppages. "The three-hour stoppage and walkouts for the balance of the shift will continue to become more regular," says Mr Levy.

"At the same time, it is likely that employers will take a much firmer line when faced with strikes."

The report credits employers with greater maturity in handling disputes. "They will make fewer tactical and legal errors as they take a tougher stance in cases where workers choose irrational or poor issues to strike over," Mr Levy predicts.

"Disputes will become harder and harder for unions to win, and, unless there is selectivity in choosing the right issues and tactics, severe defeats are likely."

Question marks still hang over two major industries which together employ the bulk of blue-collar workers — the metal and mining industries.

"In both cases unions will seek to improve performances at annual negotiations, and in both cases strong employer resistance can be expected," Mr Levy says.

The iron and steel industry could be the first in line for widespread action if the Metal and Allied Workers Union

persists in its threat to strike over wage demands at 70 factories.

### Unlikely

The mining industry is seen as the other major labour conflict area. Both the union and the Chamber of Mines are likely to resort to new tactics in the 1986 encounter.

There is no certainty that the chamber will engage in collective negotiations this year. But, if it does, a much tougher approach will be adopted and chances of last-minute breaks in the ranks will be unlikely.

If there are splits, Mr Levy reckons, they will occur before negotiations when the major houses wrestle to provide a mandate to their negotiators.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), on the other hand, will be faced with a membership whose militancy will be even less containable than this year.

"It is probable that strikes will break out at mines which are beyond the control of the NUM and which will lead to tough responses from employers" Mr Levy says.

The rate of union membership growth, often in excess of 200% a year, is not likely to persist in 1986 either, according to the report.

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CSO: 3400/915



SOUTH AFRICA

SPOT PRICE HURTS COAL EXPORTERS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (Business) in English 5 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by Brendan Ryan]

[Text]

THE spot price for internationally traded steam coal has dropped below \$30/ton free-on-board (fob) because of producer oversupply to the market.

South African producers have been protected to a large extent by the depreciation of the rand, which has boosted their profits in spite of stagnant dollar prices.

### Eroded

However, these profit margins are being eroded by the country's soaring rate of inflation, which is boosting the mines' working costs.

One of the reasons for the oversupply is the growing output from the new Colombian export coal mine El Cerrejon.

In recognition of the market situation, it now appears that the participants in the Phase 4 expansion of the Richards Bay coal terminal have agreed to cut back on the planned expanded capacity of the terminal.

Originally intended to have the capacity to export 78-million tons of coal annually, it is understood that the Phase 4 expansion will be only to a level of about 70-

million tons, which will cut down on the capital cost of the expansion and also match expected market demand more closely.

The deputy chairman of Rand Mines coal division, Allen Cook, says: "Currently the spot price for coal sales from Richards Bay is between \$29 and \$30 a ton, and the longer-term contract prices have been knocked back to those levels as well."

"However, we have heard that other local coal producers have been negotiating at around the \$26/ton mark on spot sales, which is not a healthy development, as the consumers use these prices to force prices from other suppliers down as well."

The Australian coal producers are also selling at levels just under \$30 a ton. They are being cushioned by the weak value of the Australian dollar in the same way that we have been cushioned by the weak value of the rand.

"However, the difference is that our mines are generally lower-cost producers than the Australian mines, and, while we are showing profits on current dollar sales prices, many of the Australian producers are not."

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SOUTH AFRICA

PORT ELIZABETH MAYOR SHOCKED BY PLANT CLOSURE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Jan 86 p 12

[Text]

PORT ELIZABETH. —  
The Mayor of Port Elizabeth, Mr Ben Olivier, yesterday expressed disappointment and shock at Samcor's announcement this week that it would close its Ford Sierra plant at Struandale and said the city would continue with efforts to attract business to the area.

"We expected that this (closure) would happen in only about three or four years time, and by then we might have been able to find jobs for local people with the development of the Mossel Bay oil fields. The closure has

come at a very bad time for us."

He added the City Council would increase its efforts to attract business to the city.

Samcor, citing the depressed state of the economy, "particularly the automotive sector," said this week it would transfer the assembly of the Sierra range from Struandale to Silverton, Pretoria.

About 950 hourly and salaried employees will be affected by the closing. — Sapa.

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SOUTH AFRICA

SURVIVAL OF MANY BUSINESSES PRECARIOUS IN COMING YEAR

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 5 Jan 86 p 3

[Article by Mike Peirson]

[Text] Strong cost control and competitive pricing will be critical factors determining the survival of many South African businesses in the coming year.

And at the workplace itself, the key priority for line management will be the necessity to negotiate effectively on industrial relations matters while improving worker output and efficiency.

For those companies who wish to succeed it will be a year of hard bargaining, when keeping in touch with customers and responding rapidly to their changing needs will be vital.

A survey carried out by business development specialists Richard Bosworth Associates indicates that new sales and promotional techniques will need to be adopted to attract and satisfy the demands of customers who are becoming more discerning.

Those firms prepared to invest in the training and development of their people to equip them with the necessary skills and abilities for them to meet the new challenges that will arise will be those who reap the greatest rewards.

With the development of stronger and more representative unions, coupled with higher inflation, the shop floor environment is expected to become more tense as economic and social pressures build up.

Line managers and supervisors, therefore, are going to be increasingly responsible for labour relations--being involved directly with day-to-day practical workplace bargaining, for which they will need to be properly trained.

Improving worker performance through on-the-job training and the development of new skills and techniques are expected to be among the major tasks for line management.

In addition developing good management skills and improving internal communications should help increase productivity and contain costs.

The survey points out that product and customer attitude research will need to be carried out more frequently to ensure competitive advantage and a satisfied customer.

In terms of customer contact, telemarketing, direct mail, pre and post-sales calls and regular personal customer calls by senior managers will form part of the new-look marketing programmes for management as they attempt to improve the effectiveness of their sales efforts.

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## MEGAMINE LIKELY TO BE WORLD'S LARGEST SINGLE GOLD MINE

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 7 Jan 86 p 3

[Article by Adam Payne]

[Text]

THE Free State megamine being created by Anglo American will probably be the world's largest single gold mine, producing about 113 tons a year, according to indications in the document outlining the merger of the three mines.

The output, which is projected for its early years, should amount to roughly 17% of SA's present annual production.

The 125-page document, profusely illustrated with coloured maps and graphs, says:

- ☐ The added flexibility afforded by consolidation should lead to an increase in the amount of gold recovered from underground;

- ☐ The combined treatment capacity of the enlarged complex will be more than 20-million tons a year, which in terms of milled throughput will make the merged group the largest gold mining company in SA;

- ☐ A graph shows the historical grades of the individual mines. From high, but widely differing, grades in the early days, all these mines today are mining at between 4,5g/t and 6,5g/t from the higher-grade Basal and lower-grade Leader and Kimberley Reefs. It is expected that the grades will continue at this level for the rest of their lives.

Angus Robertson, Johannesburg representative of the *Quarterly Review of South African Gold Mining Shares* commenting on dividend potentials says: "At the current gold prices of R750 to R850 an ounce, I predict dividends for 1986 totalling 600c to 750c before the split in the President Steyn shares of two for one when the name will be changed to Freegold.

"After the split the dividend expectations would therefore be 300c to 375c with the share price also down to half.

## Favourable

"The merged mine will compare favourably with similar mines such as Harmony, and be considerably better than mines such as Doorns and Libanon where costs an ounce in each case are more than R400, which is similar to that of the merged mines.

"However, the costs of the merged mines should be reduced because of economies of scale and of the efficiencies and economies of operations under the merger."

Discussing technical factors and synergies, the MD of the amalgamated mine Leslie Hewitt and consulting engineers list peripheral areas of interest to the merged mine. They add that negotiations with outside companies relating to the possible exploitation of these areas by companies have not in all cases been concluded. The areas are:

- ☐ East of FSG, the farm Leeuwbosch, De Hoek, Elsinore, and New Kameeldoorns;

- ☐ West of FSG, the farms Eurika, Nooitgedacht;

- ☐ East of Holdings division of Western Holdings, the farms Wonderkop, Vooruitgang;

- ☐ West of Holdings division of Western Holdings the farms Biesiekuil and Jacobusrust;

- ☐ South of Brand the farms Jonkersrust and Du Preez Leger.

## Projects

The current rate of production appears to be at about the optimum level and, apart from increasing the plant capacity of President Brand by 90 000 tons to 410 000 tons a month from mid-1986, no further expansion of capacity is planned for the foreseeable future.

Listing capital expenditure projects, the document says FSG's No 10 Shaft, started in 1985, should be commissioned in 1991 with full production in 1997. The cost from 1985 onwards will be R462m and the total cost R499m.

Brand's No 5 Shaft expansion started in 1981 will be commissioned in 1987 and in full production by 1992. Up to 1985 R336m was spent and a further R255m will be spent to total R591m.

Steyn's No 4 Sub-vertical Shaft started in 1972 was commissioned in 1983 and the date of full production is 1987. Up to 1985 R96m was spent and after 1985 R20m will be spent to total R116m.

Western Holdings Erf Deel No 1 Shaft started in 1981 will be commissioned in 1987 and in full production in 1993. It cost R257m up to 1985 and from 1985 onwards will spend R274m totaling R531m.

Western Holdings No 1B Sub-vertical Shaft started in 1983 and to be commissioned in 1987 with full production in 1993 spent R27m up to 1985. A further R39m will be spent from 1985 onwards to total R66m.

Western Holdings Erfdeel No 2 Shaft started in 1982 and the commissioning date is 1992. The date of full production is 1998. Up to 1985 R49m had been spent and from 1985 onwards R384m will be spent to total 432 tons.

### Extended

The life of the mining operation will of course be extended with the successful exploitation of lower grade areas which the individual mines operating separately could not have turned to advantage.

Salient points from the AAC report are:

Capital expenditure: At Free State Geduld it is forecast to drop to R59,5m in the year to September 1986 from R63m in 1985.

Brand's capex will fall to R140,6m from R158m.

Steyn's will rise to R70,9m (R57,1m).

Western Holdings will rise to R164,6m (R120,2m).

The report indicates the potential milling tons and expected grades over the life of each mine. It notes that these figures are very sensitive to gold price and the estimates are based on a gold price of R28 000/kg. FSG — 87m tons at 6,8g/t. Brand — 65m tons at a grade of 4,4g/t. Steyn — 54m tons at a grade of 6,2g/t. Western Holds — 197m tons at a grade of 4,4g/t.

### Benefits

Hewitt and the consulting engineers say the merger will bring both productivity and synergistic benefits which will lower costs and thus enable the mining of lower grade ore to take place. Unless this happens the combined tonnage treated by the four mines could drop significantly before the turn of the century.

If lower grade ore does become profitable even a drop in tonnage will be both delayed and less dramatic and extend the life of the operations.

The large capital expenditure projects which each mine is obliged to carry out to ensure continued replacement production and longer lives will have a greater chance of being undertaken at the right time as the result of the larger and strong financial base created by the merger.

Also, it will be possible to integrate the planning of major projects across the merged entity. This should reduce the possibility of having to suspend work on major projects, which is expensive and disruptive, even if the gold price is as volatile as it has been over the past few years.



SOUTH AFRICA

RAND MINES CONTINUE TO REAP BENEFIT OF WEAK RAND

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 14 Jan 86 p 9

[Article by Roy Bennetts]

[Text]

**RAND MINES'** four gold producing mines continued to reap the benefits of the weak rand in the quarter to end-December, with the combined taxed profit increasing 26% on the previous quarter to R91,5m.

The December quarter is the shortest of the four, with normally a loss of three working days, but the resultant 1% drop in gold production was offset by a 17% rise in the rand gold revenue.

Average rand gold price obtained by the group rose from R22 189/kg in the September quarter to R25 934/kg.

This compares favourably with the price realised by GFSA which has become somewhat of a benchmark as it is not involved in forward selling.

Pre-tax profits increased by 19% to R140m (R117,4m), with the Receiver of Revenue increasing his share of the cake by a comparatively low 8% to R48,5m (R44,8m).

A soaring 44% rise in capital expenditure, from R46m to R66,4m, helped keep the tax payment to a minimum, as gold mines can reclaim capex against taxation.

Costs were well contained in the quarter, rising a marginal 4%, from R72,11 a ton to R75,12 a ton, mainly as a result of the lower tonnage milled.

**DURBAN DEEP** continued on its firm track, with a 45% increase in its bottom-line profit, from R6,5m in the September quarter to R9,4m.

Capex, covering the same period, rose from R3m to R3,6m, giving the mine a positive cash flow of R5,8m (R3,5m).

Earnings a share soared by a healthy 64% to 247,6c (150,9c) — a very positive result compared with the loss of 40,7c a share recorded in the June quarter of last year.

Ore milled fell by 6% in the December quarter to 601 000 tons, with recovery grades unchanged at 3,12g a ton.

This resulted in a drop in gold production from 1 989 kg to 1 872 kg.

Gold revenue increased from R45,6m to R48,2m, with total costs more or less unchanged at R39,9m, but the drop in tonnage milled pushed up unit costs from R62,32 to R66,44 a ton.

Durban Deep has hedged a total of 1 518 kg of gold for the first three-quarters of this year, at prices ranging from R24 109/kg to R26 336/kg.

ERPM unfortunately slipped further into the mire in the quarter, in spite of the gold price received of R25 800/kg (R22 627).

Tonnage milled dropped by 7% to 698 000 tons, combined with a fall in grade from 3,61 g/t to 3,56 g/t, resulting in a fall in gold production, from 2 710 kg in

the September quarter, to 2 484 kg.

Because of the rise in the rand gold price the mine was able to increase its revenue from R61,3m to R64,1m. Sundry revenue remained constant at R374 000 and there was a reversal of State assistance claimed of R451 000 compared with R3,7m in the previous quarter.

This lowered bottom-line profits, from R4,5m to R3,9m, falling a long way short of the R4,3m increase in capex, from R11,8m in the September quarter, to a massive R16,1m.

The increase was due to the higher rate of expenditure on the mine's R300m Far East Vertical Shaft (FEV) project.

There are further capex commitments of R46,1m, virtually all FEV-related.

The loss a share rose from 132c a share in the previous quarter to 219c a share in December.

**HARMONY** suffered a 10% drop in gold production, from 8 324 kg to 7 496 kg, due to a fall in grade, from 3,91 g/t, to 3,63 g/t. Milling was more or less unchanged at 2,1-million tons for the quarter.

This mine gained the highest local gold price of the four, rising from R21 287/kg in the September quarter to R26 287, which boosted gold revenue by

R15m, from R181,9m, to R197m.

Uranium profits fell from R13,1m to R7,5m, taking the total revenue for the quarter to R204,6m. A gain of 5% on the previous quarter's R195m.

Costs were well-contained, with total costs R4m down at R125,3m and unit costs only 5% higher at R60,71 a ton.

Working profits rose from R65,8m to R79,3m which, together with sundry revenue of R5,3m, left pre-tax profits R12,5m higher at R84,6m.

Capex increased from R26m to R41,3m during the quarter, which allowed for a lower tax payment of R24,7m (R25,5m) and provided for a 29% increase in taxed profits at just under R60m.

Earnings a share fell from 69,7c a share in September to 69,4c a share due to the increase in capex.

Harmony has capex commitments of a further R21,2m while the estimated total for the rest of the financial year is R63,3m.

Most of this is being earmarked for the new No 4 Shaft complex.

**BLYVOOR** was the only one of the group's mines to increase its grades during the quarter, from 6,17 g/t in September, to 6,36 g/t.

Like the other producers, mill-

ing was down in the quarter but the improved grades aided gold production which fell by only 40 kg to 3 232 kg.

With a gold price more than R3 000 higher at R25 337/kg the mine was able to increase its gold revenue from R72,7m to R81,9m.

Total costs were down slightly, from R44,6m, to R44,3m, but because of lower tonnage, unit costs rose from R84,18 to R87,28 a ton.

Uranium profits remained almost unchanged at R4,4m, providing the mine with pre-taxed profits of R42,1m (R34,3m).

Capex was virtually unchanged at R5,4m, with the Receiver increasing his take from R19,3m to R23,9m.

This left Blyvoor with a 21% improved taxed profit at R18,2m, and earnings a share increased, from 40,9c a share in the September quarter, to 53,3c a share.

During the December quarter Blyvoor paid R1,9m to Driefontein Consolidated in terms of the tribute agreement.

Like the other mines in the group, Blyvoor has continued the hedge some of its gold production and now has a total of 2 649 kg sold forward for the first three quarters of 1986 at a price of R24 625 to R27 029/kg.

Rand Mines	Tons milled 000	Yield	Cost R/Ton	Cost \$/oz*	Rev \$/oz*	Rev R/Kg	Cost R/Kg	Net profits 000	Net Profits after capex 000	EPS after capex cents
Blyvoor	508	6,36	87,28	162	299	25 337	13 719	18 229	12 794	53,3
Sept	530	6,17	84,18	190	310	22 231	13 635	15 077	9 818	40,9
Harmony	2 063	3,63	60,71	197	310	26 287	16 711	59 949	18 652	69,4
Sept	2 130	3,91	60,66	216	305	21 858	15 522	46 608	20 626	76,7
Durban Deep	601	3,12	66,44	252	304	25 729	21 329	9 367	5 756	247,6
Sept	638	3,12	62,32	279	319	22 911	19 989	6 471	3 510	150,9
ERPM	698	3,56	86,06	286	305	25 800	24 133	3 937	(-12 141)	(-218,9)
Sept	750	3,61	81,29	219	315	22 627	22 491	4 457	(-7 323)	(-132,0)

\* Standard Bank average exchange rates Oct-Dec 85 \$0,38  
June-Sept 85 \$0,45

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SOUTH AFRICA

## WDL'S SHAFT-SINKING OPERATIONS COMPLETE

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 14 Jan 86 p 9

[Article by Lawrence Bedford]

[Text]

SHAFT-SINKING operations have been completed at Western Deep Levels' (WDL) No 1 shaft and the official opening is planned for May 1.

The R800m shaft-sinking programme is expected to produce greater quantities of gold and earn the company more than ever before (average grades at WDL are about 8,67g/t).

The last blast was carried out recently to sink the service shaft to its depth of 2 328m.

The main shaft has already been completed to a depth of 2 374m. Both shafts are now being equipped.

Operations are under way to fit the shafts with brattice walls to allow them to be used for service and ventilation.

Latex injections are being used to seal off the shaft from the bottom up.

Tunnel development has been completed from the working areas on the northern boundary of the South Lease Area.

These access ways were driven in from No 2 and 3 shafts to the new shaft.

They have been equipped and are ready to swing into full operation.

Limited mining operations are under way in the No 1 shaft area using No 2 and 3 hoisting capacity to bring the ore to the surface.

The development of the working faces will allow No 1 shaft to go into immediate production by shifting ore transport to the huge hoisting capabilities of the new complex.

Work is continuing on the transfer levels, ore passes and underground silos.

These are on schedule and should be fully operational by April 1.

Management is looking to achieve production of 60 000 tons a month milled by the end of 1986.

This tonnage should increase rapidly as the shaft moves towards full production of 160 000 tons a month milled by the end of 1988.

Surface construction work is well on schedule.

The gold plant is to be completed by April 1, along with the refrigeration and ventilation plants.

Costs have been put at R1bn by the time the development comes into full operation, some time about 1990, although indications are it could be earlier.

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SOUTH AFRICA

LABOR POLICY DISCUSSED BY GENCOR EXECUTIVE MINING DIRECTOR

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 9 Jan 86 p 4

[Interview with Johan Fritz, Gencor executive mining director, by Claire Pickard-Cambridge--date and place not given]

[Text]

**G**encor has been criticised for handling industrial relations problems with heavy handedness. Some describe Gencor as the mining house with the most hardline labour policy. What is your response to this?

Fritz: I do not believe this perception is correct. The National Union of Mineworkers' (NUM) reportedly said the dismissal of workers at Impala Platinum was "characteristic of Gencor's despicable manner" of dealing with workers' grievances. But anybody who believes this is uninformed.

We have a fundamental interest in our employees, find their problems important and give them important consideration.

If one is to have a sense of security and a feeling of belonging, you want to know exactly where you stand. We believe we are just and fair and do not vacillate unnecessarily. It is my experience with people I've worked with that they appreciate a clear position.

Gencor has the top safety and productivity record in the industry and could not have achieved this with unmotivated workers who've been handled heavy handedly.

We also have a large number of long service employees and believe our turnover situation in black labour is lower than in the industry generally.

We have always had a principle of placing our people within the Gencor group in the event of changes and an example is the fact that we did not put anyone on the road following the closure of our Beisa Mine in the Free State.

**I** say we have not been hardline. We've been firm and definite, but this hardline perception probably arose when we did not change our position after deadlocking with the NUM in the Chamber of Mines negotiations last year. We stood by what we had decided on because we thought our offer was fair and reasonable.

We see our responsibility as having direct communication with our own employees, but if a union can assist in this we welcome it. We recognise unions at an early stage even when they have as little as 33% to 40% representativeness in certain categories.

The NUM claims Gencor has set itself on a collision course with the union and is trying to teach the union that strike action will consistently result in dismissals. Is this justified?

This claim is definitely not true. We have not set ourselves on a collision course with the union and have no intention of union bashing. We want to act in the best interest of our customers, shareholders and employees and welcome unions as a means of improving communication with workers.

What is Gencor's attitude towards Bophuthatswana legislation which effectively prevents freedom of association by prohibiting SA unions from operating there?

And what is Gencor's response to news of proposed Bophuthatswana legislation which will prevent more than one union organising mineworkers in the territory?

We are operating in an independent state. This would be the same as operating in Brazil, Australia or elsewhere and our attitude is to act responsibly in the host country, whatever their laws should be.

**S**trike action will not consistently result in dismissal. Dismissal will only result if circumstances are appropriate.

If we are invited to comment on these laws we do so.

Have you been invited to comment on these laws in Bophuthatswana?

We've had the opportunity to comment on various laws, but I would not like to elaborate on this. We are not involved in government decisions.

Does Gencor believe an entirely new labour force will necessarily be less militant than workers who have just been sacked?

I do not believe this. If I refer this to the case at Impala Platinum the problem is not one of worker militance but of very definite intimidation. Intimidation was so strong that our own employees were disappointed in our ability to protect them.

But I don't want to comment on Impala Platinum because although Gencor has a major interest in it we see Impala as an independent unit with its own spokesman.

Does Gencor believe that dismissing and rehiring workers is often a useful tactic to break a stalemate, or that workers eventually regard dismissal threats less seriously if they believe they will be rehired?

Gencor would not use such a tactic.

**W**e consider every situation on its merits. But, I'm sure people will not take warnings seriously if they expect to be rehired. I am not a game-playing person. We make well thought-out moves, are sincere and honest and make decisions after thorough deliberation.

Gencor was found guilty of an unfair labour practice when it fired legally striking workers under specific circumstances at Marievale last year. Has this led Gencor to consider amending any of its labour policies?

We do not agree with the finding and have taken the Marievale matter under review with the Supreme Court. It has not led us to believe we need to change our labour policies. This does not

mean we are cast in concrete and do not realise things are changing in SA. It means we must look at ourselves more critically and if

we can find anything which can be regarded as unfair we'll address the problem.

A wide gap existed between Gencor's wage levels and labour policies and those of Anglo American, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI) and Rand Mines after last year's annual wage negotiations. Does Gencor wish to move closer to these mining houses on those issues in future?

SA has a shortage of skilled people and an oversupply of the unskilled. Gencor has a steep wage curve to encourage people to try and climb up the ladder. We have a large training programme for this purpose. While our unskilled workers are on rates below the top payers in the industry, our more skilled workers are practically in line with them. It would be far easier if we were to be closer to the three mining houses. We are relatively close to other houses and usually act in unison with them through the Chamber of Mines.

I believe our present wage gap is largely due to the 11th hour decision by these three mining houses to improve their offers during last year's wage negotiations, while we stuck to our guns.

**W**e are probably the most widely based mining house in the country and are involved in many different industries which are competitive in world markets. We can not make a wage decision outside these realities.

Is Gencor more concerned about the effect of its actions on the local and international community in the present delicate political and economic situation in SA? Yes, we are more sensitive now and everyone should be, but this cannot be at the expense of our basic principles.

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SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

BUSINESS CONFIDENCE IMPROVES--Business confidence rose again slightly for the fourth month in succession, bringing confidence back to the level it was at just before the political and financial crises of July and August last year. The Associated Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) business confidence index for December 1985 rose by 0,5 points to 81,1, just 0,1 above the June 1985 level. The index is calculated using a number of economic indicators. The slight improvement was chiefly due to the outcome of the continued reduced level of interest rates and the continued rise in the JSE all-market index of share prices. These two factors more than offset the increase in the number of insolvencies and in unemployment in all race groups. Retail sales underwent a seasonal rise in December, but other business activity remained at a low ebb. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 9 Jan 86 p 3] /9317

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